

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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"WHAT, NEVER?" "NO, NEVER!" "WHAT, NEVER?"
"WELL, HARDLY EVER."



Mr. Asquith, under pressure, changed his firm purpose with regard to the Veto proposals; he also changed his mind with regard to the Royal Declaration Bill. He is now being asked to alter his refusal to give facilities to the Woman Suffrage Bill.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

The question of Woman Suffrage and of further facilities for the Bill before Parliament has been kept vigorously to the front during the last few days. On Thursday, after we had gone to press, was published the correspondence between Lord Lytton and the Prime Minister, which we give in full elsewhere.

The Request for Facilities.

It commenced with a letter written by Lord Lytton on behalf of the Conciliation Committee, in the course of which he argued that although the Prime Minister had originally indicated that the Government would not give an

opportunity for the discussion of the later stages of the Bill, there were three reasons why his attitude on this matter should be modified. In the first place, he had subsequently announced that it would be necessary to have an autumn Session, and this would provide the necessary time. In the second place, Mr. Asquith had himself said that if the House of Commons expressed the deliberate desire of effectively dealing with the whole question an opportunity would be provided them, and in view of the very large majority which was recorded in favour of the second reading of the Bill Lord Lytton claimed that this pledge should become operative. In the third place, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill had invited the House to refuse to read the Bill a second time on the grounds that a decision in its favour implied not merely approval of the principle, but a desire to see the Bill passed into law this Session.

The Prime Minister's Reply.

To this letter the Prime Minister replied as follows:—

On June 23 last, in announcing in the House that, in the exceptional circumstances of the case, the Government were prepared to give time for a full debate and division on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, I added, with the utmost explicitness, that they could not afford any further facilities to the Bill this Session. To that statement I need hardly say the Government adhere. My further words to which you refer, that "the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question," clearly did not, and could not, refer to the present Session; nor (I may add) to any Bill the title of which was so framed as to preclude a free and adequate dealing with the whole question.

This was the letter we referred to in our issue last week.

Lord Lytton's Rejoinder.

In reply Lord Lytton, on the behalf of the Committee, pointed out that Mr. Asquith had himself described as a

great hardship the way in which Woman Suffrage Bills had been carried through the second reading and then dropped, and that if the Prime Minister pursued a similar course on this occasion, it would be "calculated to increase the discontent for which already there was much justification." Lord Lytton proceeded to defend the definite proposal which had been put before the House on the ground that it was a compromise that would not require protracted discussion. The letter concluded as follows:—"The significant vote by which our proposals were adopted entitled us to claim the rights of a majority. We propose before Parliament reassembles to lay before you further evidence of the extent and urgency of the demand for the passage into law of Mr. Shackleton's Bill this year."

Questions in the House.

On Thursday afternoon the matter was raised by way of question in the House of Commons, when Mr. Lloyd George replied, on behalf of the Prime Minister, to Mr. Snowden that no facilities would be given. Mr. Snowden then referred to the statement by the Prime Minister that the House of Commons should, if it so desired, have further opportunities of considering this question. To this Mr. Lloyd George made the following reply:—

The pledge given was that the Government in this Parliament would give an opportunity for effectively dealing with the whole question, but inasmuch as this Bill is so framed that the House of Commons cannot effectively deal with the whole question, but only a part of it, we cannot give further facilities.

Mr. Snowden asked what became then of the doctrine that the will of the people must prevail, and the Chancellor retorted that in the case of Bills framed so that the will of the people's representatives could not be ascertained, there was no reason why special opportunities should be given.

Whereupon Mr. Snowden put the poser as to what was the difference of the veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the veto of a non-elected House of Lords.

A Press Opinion.

The *Manchester Guardian*, in a leading article which we give in full elsewhere, declares that it deeply regrets this decision, and urges that in view of the very large majority by which the Bill passed the second reading there is no excuse for this attitude. The article proceeds:—

The reason assigned by Mr. Asquith for not granting to the House of Commons this session the opportunity which he admits it may justly claim of pronouncing on the whole question and carrying a Bill into law, if it desires to carry one, is that the whole question of the extension of the suffrage to women cannot be pronounced upon in connection with Mr. Shackleton's Bill, because that Bill is, by its title, which cannot now be enlarged, limited to the enfranchisement of women occupiers. Since, however, this limitation was precisely what secured for the Bill so large a majority, it is difficult to see in what way it can be regarded as imposing an undue restriction on the discretion of the House, nor is there, as Lord Lytton points out, any evidence that if the Bill had not been restricted in this way it would have received more favourable treatment from the Government. The plain fact is that the restricted Bill has a much stronger backing in the House of Commons—and there can be little doubt that the House in this matter truly represents the country—than either an adult Suffrage Bill or a Bill allowing married women to share the household qualification of their husbands, which are the alternatives.

The *Guardian* concludes by congratulating the Conciliation Committee on its determination to push forward the Bill.

Debate in the House.

The matter was further raised by Mr. Snowden on the motion for the adjournment of the House. He argued that there never was a division taken in the House of Commons that could be regarded as a more free and independent expression of opinion than the vote in favour of the second reading of the Bill; it was given without the pressure of the Party Whips, and after one of the most strenuous and serious debates that had ever taken place in the House of Commons. As to the assertion that the Bill was not democratic, he thought that thirty-three members of the Labour Party and the 160 Liberals who voted for the second reading were at least as good democrats as the Prime Minister. It was one of the principal questions before the country at the General Election. It was a thoroughly sound Bill and ought to be carried. There was a strong demand for it by the women and it was supported by the electorate, and, most important of all, the House of Commons had declared by its vote the desire to see the Bill passed into law.

Mr. Snowden and Militant Methods.

Speaking of militant tactics, Mr. Snowden said:—
I personally have never defended militant tactics, but if the Government refuse facilities for this Bill or say they will not put forward an alternative proposal, the whole situation is changed, and there are tens of thousands of women who have opposed militant tactics and have confined their agitation to constitutional methods, but who realise that new methods are needed. The main argument which was advanced against Woman Suffrage was that the final court of appeal was force, and therefore the women cannot be blamed if they accept the advice which the opponents of Woman Suffrage have given them, but I hope it will not come to that. I hope the Government will be wiser and will put into practice some of that democracy of which they speak, and will give an opportunity during the Autumn Session for the will of the people, that good old rhetorical formula, as expressed by their representatives prevailing within the lifetime of the present Parliament.

Mr. Asquith's Defence.

Mr. Asquith defended himself on the following grounds:—
Firstly, that he had definitely stated that there would be no further facilities for the Bill this Session; secondly, that the pledge which he had made was not for a Bill of this character, but for a Bill which dealt with the whole question; thirdly, that the House of Commons by its vote against sending the Bill to a Grand Committee had expressed its view that it ought not to be proceeded with this session. He added that he had no intention of yielding to fear, or being moved by a threat of militant tactics.

Lord Hugh Cecil Exposes Government Hypocrisy.

Lord Hugh Cecil compared the Woman Suffrage Bill with the Royal Declaration Bill, pointing out that they were contentious in precisely the same sense. He showed up the inconsistency of the Government in pretending to be neutral and impartial, while all the time they meant to kill the Bill, which, it could not be seriously disputed, would, if the Government provided time, pass into law. It amounted to endeavouring to get the support of the electorate on what was practically a false pretence. He then referred to the action of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, making clear (in spite of their indignant interruptions) that their speeches were "designed to kill the Bill on the second reading, and that it would have been the same with any Bill that was brought forward." He denied the accuracy of the assertion by the Prime Minister as to the vote against sending the Bill to a Grand Committee, saying that the Leader of the Opposition and many others took this course because they honestly believed that a Franchise Bill ought to be dealt with in Committee of the whole House. He concluded by casting ridicule upon the inconsistency of the Government, who, while prating about the veto of the Lords, treated the House of Commons with contempt by placing upon its wishes a veto of equal effect. Mr. Roch followed in a speech of striking earnestness, in which he dealt with the insincerity of the Government.

Time Can Be Found.

In our leading article this week we deal with the points raised by Mr. Asquith, and we shall return to the subject again in our next issue. It is sufficient here to point out what a small amount of time would be required in the autumn in order to proceed with the remaining stages of the Bill. A close parallel is to be found in the case of the Royal Declaration Bill. This measure, like the Woman Suffrage Bill, is short, and was bitterly opposed by a fairly

strong minority who exhausted their ingenuity in framing amendments and making speeches; nevertheless, in a single day of Parliamentary sitting the whole of the amendments, amounting to several pages of the paper, were disposed of and the Committee stage passed. Even assuming that the opposition of the Franchise Bill is more serious, two or three days of the Committee stage with a further day for the remaining stages ought to be sufficient to enable it to be carried into law.

A Motion for Facilities.

Mr. Keir Hardie has given notice that at the re-opening of Parliament in the autumn he will move that the committee stage of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill have precedence of all Orders of the Day and notices of motions on Friday, November 18, and the report and third reading stages of the same measure take a like precedence on Friday, November 25.

The Position of the W.S.P.U.

We announced last week the intentions of the Women's Social and Political Union in the event of the failure of the Parliamentary forces to obtain time for the Bill in the autumn; this week we give a report of the important and crowded meeting held by the W.S.P.U. on Thursday last at the St. James's Hall. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke of her determination to press the matter forward, and declared her intention, if other means failed, of going, shortly after the meeting of Parliament in the autumn, at the head of a great mass of women to Westminster in order to demand that the Bill should be proceeded with. Her speech was enthusiastically received, and before the close of the meeting several women signified their intention of taking part with her in the deputation, and a large number of others have since written to Clements Inn to the same effect.

Militant Methods.

The *Northern Telegraph* recently had an interesting leading article on the methods of the Suffragettes, in the course of which it said:—

Mr. Asquith in his speech spoke sternly against "violent methods" in an agitation. Mr. Balfour concurred, and we are all agreed. But it is not enough to condemn "violent methods"; and indeed no man, be he Prime Minister or leader of the Opposition, can consider his responsibility begins and ends with such denunciation. It is the business of responsible statesmen, one leading the House and another leading a powerful party in it, to recognise and give effect to the declared will of the House, and in so doing not only to approve of, but to allow free course to constitutional methods. The Conciliation Bill was the signal for "a truce," and great will be the responsibility of any man or woman, statesman or agitator, who fails to observe the truce or to take full advantage of it to end a very old agitation and to accomplish a great object by strictly constitutional methods.

Vanity Fair, also, in an extract which we published last week, pointed out that the present position of the Suffrage question is entirely due to the militant methods which have been adopted, and that the Suffragettes are not likely to refrain from using them again should occasion arise.

Signs of Revolt.

We chronicled last week the resignation of Lady Betty Balfour from the presidency of a branch of the Primrose League on account of the adverse vote on the Conciliation Bill given by the local Member. Since then several other straws have shown which way the wind blows. The Women's Liberal Federation are meeting in December to consider what attitude they will take up in view of the position of the Government towards Woman Suffrage. Mrs. C. A. Fyfe has this week resigned from the Women's National Liberal Association, of which she was for about 17 years Vice-President and Member of the Executive Committee, from the Horsham Women's Liberal Association, of which she has been President ever since its formation, from the Liberal Social Council, and from the Free Trade Union, on the Brighton branch of which she was member of the Executive Committee. Mrs. Allen has also resigned from the Committee of the Newport Liberal Federation. The executive committee of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage have decided to recommend to their members that at by-elections an anti-Government policy be adopted on account of the obstruction employed by the Government against the Woman Suffrage Bill.

A Parallel.

In connection with the Declaration Bill, which its opponents complain was rushed through, the speech of a prominent leader in the House of Lords has a special interest for suffragists. In the course of the debate Lord Lansdowne said:—

It was true that the Bill would be passed rapidly, but the subject was not a new one. It had been voluminously discussed out of doors. He did not think the course which the Government intended to take was really open to the charge of attempting to stifle discussion. He did not know of any new facts that could be brought to their attention. What they certainly would have if the further consideration of the Bill were to be postponed, would be the prolongation of a rather acute and bitter controversy, and that would not be to the advantage of the country, or of those who took part in it.

It is not necessary for us to point out that the suffrage question is also "not new," and that the postponement of the Bill will not be to the advantage of the country.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's "Facts."

It is interesting to note that while the Anti-Suffragists in this country pose as the champions of women's votes in municipal affairs, and, indeed, of women taking their places in these councils, because, as they frankly say, they hope that this positive platform may be more effective in combating the Suffrage agitation than the merely negative platform of opposition, yet in America, in the States where the lesser franchise is not yet an accomplished fact, their brother and sister Anti-Suffragists are

with greater consistency, opposing every extension of voting rights to women. Mrs. Humphry Ward, indeed, has told us how in that continent the Anti-Suffragists are everywhere gaining ground. Those who believe this assertion must have read with amazement the statement by Miss Alice Stone Blackwell which appeared in *The Times* recently, in the course of which she writes as follows:—

In America, the number of women who take any interest in opposing the Suffrage movement is exceedingly small. Nothing could be more baseless than the claim of the Anti-Suffragists that they represent the majority of their sex. Of the women who care anything about the question the overwhelming majority are in favour. This is shown by the relative numbers and size of the Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Societies and by every other token. Straw votes taken by newspapers of their women readers on the question have been mostly in favour of Suffrage, usually by very heavy majorities. The Scripps McRae League of Newspapers lately took such a vote in 18 cities. In all the result was in favour. In San Francisco and Los Angeles it was in favour more than nine to one; in Berkeley, Cal., 53 to one; in Des Moines, Iowa, 20 to one; in Louisville, Kentucky, more than three to one; in Oklahoma City, more than 28 to one; in Minneapolis, 18 to one; and so on. The *Seattle Star* lately took such a vote. It stood: Yes, 2,218; No, 61. In Akron, Ohio, only two women voted "no"; in the large city of Omaha, Nebraska, only nine.

It is to be hoped that in future Mrs. Ward's "facts" will be received with a proper amount of caution.

Holiday Campaign.

The joy of the pioneer is within reach of those members who are spending their holidays this summer in places where there is no regular organiser of the Union and where the movement is but little understood. Last year most successful holiday campaigns were carried on informally by members of the Union, and it is hoped that this year the work done will be even more far-reaching. As an instance of the value of holiday work, a Suffragette writes that on returning to the seaside place at which she spent her holiday last year, she was greeted by a crowd of sympathisers, while a fisherman waved the tricolour which he had been carrying at his mast-head ever since her visit of a year ago. This is but a small instance, but it shows that when interest is once thoroughly aroused the good work will go on of its own accord. Holiday campaigns are not being organised from headquarters, and members are asked to arrange the work for themselves. They will find plenty of opportunity for canvassing, selling the paper, holding meetings, and so on, while by wearing their badges they will advertise the cause and be brought into touch with other members. In September Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the Highlands, and she will be glad if members and friends in the district willing to get up meetings will communicate with her.

Selling "Votes for Women."

Between now and the date when Parliament reassembles and is to be given one more chance of carrying out the will of the people, it is most important that new friends should be brought into the movement by hundreds and thousands. The easiest way to do this is by giving them the opportunity of reading our paper, through which they will gain a proper understanding of the movement. Country and local Unions and individual members will find an additional interest imparted to this work through the competition of which we have already given particulars, and which is in progress during August and September. Valuable prizes are being offered for those who bring in the largest number of new subscribers, for Unions and pitches at which the largest number of copies are sold, and for individual sellers. Let all members enter into a friendly rivalry with each other in order to test who can do the most for the cause in this way. Full particulars may be had from the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

As announced last week we are able to promise our readers a very interesting series of articles throughout August, dealing with the arguments of Anti-Suffragists. The first of these appears in this week's issue, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Next week we have an article by Miss Elizabeth Robins, and also an article specially contributed by a non-militant Conservative Suffragist. For our issue of August 19 Mr. Laurence Housman is writing a special article for our issue of August 26 we are promised an article by Lady Constance Lytton, and for our issue of September 2 an article by Lady Sybil Smith. We believe that these will be of special interest to our readers, and will make the paper interesting to those who see it for the first time.

Items of Interest.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, received a deputation last week from the Irish Women's Suffrage League. An account will be found on page 747.

Another answer to the argument that women cannot fight is to be found in the discoveries just made in Italy of two tombs of women warriors with war chariots over the remains. This proves that the Amazon leaders of armies famed in verse had a real existence, and were not poetic inventions.

A plebiscite of Hornsey electors on the question of woman suffrage is being arranged by Mr. Albert Dawson, 1a, Station Parade, East Finchley.

Speaking recently in Birmingham, Mr. Arthur Chamberlain (who is a Liberal) referred to the autocratic behaviour of Mr. Asquith, and said, "Our great leader thinks too little of the people and too much of himself."

Miss Margaret Ashton, speaking at Sheffield, said, "Government in England is getting to be an autocracy and not a democracy. We are governed by a clique."

FACTS FOR NEW READERS.

(Those who want more information than is given here should obtain "Women's Fight for the Vote," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, from The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road. Price 6d. net paper and 1s. net cloth.)

The demand women are making is that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill to effect this which they desire to see carried into law. It is estimated that between a million and a million-and-a-quarter women would be immediately enfranchised by it. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters, this would mean that the female electorate would be about one-seventh of the whole. The Bill which is at present before Parliament is slightly different from this, and would enfranchise about one million women. It is explained elsewhere.

Why Women Want the Vote.

In the first place, they desire to play their part in the life of the nation and introduce their point of view, so long neglected, into the government of the country. Among the matters decided in Parliament are questions of education, infant mortality, sweated labour, the conditions of women's work, the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and of criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes. In the second place, women know that the possession of the vote is necessary to safeguard the interests of women. No human being is good enough to be entrusted with absolute power over another human being, and no section or class of a community is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another section or class. At present the male electorate controls the making and the administering of the laws, and as a result the law is not fair to women, and it is also administered to their disadvantage. Finally, the vote is the hall-mark of citizenship, and confers a status which those who are excluded from it cannot possess.

Where the Law is Unjust to Women.

Those who oppose giving votes to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him. She has no legal right to any share of the husband's income except in the case of actual desertion; and if, while continuing to live with her, he refuses to pay to her a single penny of his wages, she cannot obtain such payment except by breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. Short of this she and her children can starve, and yet she cannot claim the protection of the law to obtain maintenance from her husband. Finally, in the event of either party to the marriage being guilty of definite immorality, there is a total difference in the treatment accorded to husband and wife.

Women and the Administration.

In administering the country the Government has set up an entirely artificial differentiation between the sexes. In the first place, from a very large number of positions (including all the more important) women are excluded altogether, to the disadvantage of women, who are thus denied opportunities of well-paid employment, and to the disadvantage of the community, which is thus obliged to appoint a man where a woman might be more suitable, or have better qualifications. In the second place, where men and women are both employed, the woman receives a far smaller wage than the man for precisely the same work, as is the case with school inspectors, sanitary inspectors, post office employees, &c. Finally, the Government is one of the worst of sweaters in the wages it pays to women, either directly or through its sub-contractors in its Army clothing works and other departments.

Answers to Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

Women have shown their demand for the vote by petitions, by great public meetings, and by willingness to undergo imprisonment for the sake of the cause. These are the only methods available for the unenfranchised. That woman suffrage is popular among the electors is shown by the way candidates for Parliament secretly hostile to it hedge on the subject when questioned at election time. Though man's principal work may lie in the workshop and woman's in the home, that does not prevent men and it should not prevent women from taking a reasonable interest in the affairs of the country, and from sparing that small amount of time required to cast a vote at elections, to attend an occasional political meeting, and to discuss the questions of the day with acquaintances. Common sense and the experience of countries where women vote combine to show that woman suffrage does not lead to dissensions in the home, nor to women being treated with less respect by men, but does lead to the enactment of beneficial laws which they have been for years asking for in vain. There is no ground for thinking that woman suffrage will unduly strengthen any one of the present political parties at the expense of the others. Nor will it necessarily lead to adult suffrage or to women M.P.'s. After women have won the vote the male electorate will still outnumber the female electorate by about six or seven to one, and only those changes which are approved by the whole electorate will be made. Where women have been called upon to govern they have generally been remarkably successful, as witness the famous names of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, Maria Theresa, the late Dowager Empress of China, and many others; but the possession of the vote does not mean the liability to be called on to govern, but merely to select those who will govern, and women are certainly capable of this quite equally with men. Many anti-suffragists pin their faith to the "physical force" argument; they say that the ultimate basis of all government is physical force. This is untrue; it is not the physically strongest races which govern the world, but those who possess the finest combination of physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual force; and the same is true within the confines of a single State.

ELIZABETH FRY.
Pioneer of Prison Reform.

One of the truest friends of the outcast and helpless was born in 1780 at Earham, in Norfolk. She was born of Quaker parents, her father being of the famous family of the Gurneys, of Norwich, and her mother a Kincardineshire Quakeress, who was known as the "dove-like Betsy," but who died when Elizabeth, her daughter, was only twelve.

With such an origin it might be expected that Elizabeth would lead a secluded, quiet life; but her father was a most singularly wide-minded man, who encouraged his daughters to join in the gaieties of the world, and even to go to the theatre. Elizabeth, his third daughter out of seven, seems to have been of a most lively disposition, and to have been fond of fine clothes, for she is described as going to see the soldiers parade in Norwich, wearing a scarlet cloak and purple boots.

The young girl, with her fund of animal spirits and enjoyment of pleasure, was only waiting for a call to turn to the serious things of life. The preaching of an American minister who came to the meeting-house had such a powerful effect upon her that she became very religious and full of philanthropy. The things of youth were already past, the deep significance of life was beginning to dawn upon this wonderful woman, and not very long after this period she married a worthy Quaker, Joseph Fry, in 1800, and as a consequence went to live in London at Mildred's Court.

The change was very great for her, but the fact of being in the great city seems to have still further deepened the longing to help the miserable, which was growing stronger and stronger with her. Her life broadened out tremendously; she spent her days in visiting amongst the poor when she was not occupied in family life. As time went on she had children. The stern realities of life were now only too patent to her. Living in comfort herself her heart ached for the unfortunate poor around her. For a time the family lived in Essex, where Elizabeth Fry had a serious illness. This strong soul had a frail body, but an invincible spirit. When the family returned to London she became very busy visiting and inspecting schools, and, moreover, at this time a great gift of eloquence descended upon her, so that she constantly preached the Gospels to the Friends. She had the most magnetic effect upon her audience; her words were simple, but absolutely inspired, and her voice was perfectly marvellous in its beauty.

She went on steadily with her philanthropic work till in 1813 she paid her first visit to Newgate. She was accompanied by a friend this first time. What a momentous visit it was, and what a terrible revelation to the tender-hearted Quakeress! The state of prisons in those days was indescribable. The women were all crowded together on the untried side, young and old women with their children, 300 souls, shut up in two wards and two cells. Their state was pitiable indeed. The companion, Anna Buxton, described the poor creatures as having few clothes on, and those filthy beyond measure. They came forward "begging, swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, dancing, dressed up in men's clothes." They had no proper bedding, no decency; they lived, cooked, and washed in the same room. They begged from strangers and bought liquor from a tap in the prison. Spirits were drunk openly, and the most terrible language was used. The governor of the prison actually advised the ladies to lay aside their watches, lest they should be snatched from them.

This fearful scene made a great impression upon Elizabeth Fry. She brooded upon it and finally nearly four years later paid another visit to Newgate, but this time she went alone. She began by reading the Bible, the parable of the Vineyard, and praying with the prisoners. Her wonderful power worked upon them. The poor creatures listened in awe. Then she began to talk to them, especially about the children. She appealed to their better natures to allow her to come and teach the little ones and make a school for them. The women listened and agreed.

Elizabeth Fry began her school for children in Newgate. She chose a young girl, Mary Connor, whose innocent face belied the crime for which she was in prison, that of stealing a watch. Onlookers found fault with Elizabeth Fry for making a criminal the matron of her school, but they had to acknowledge later that she was right; for this girl justified the trust reposed in her to the uttermost, took the greatest pride in her task, and showed such a beautiful spirit, that fifteen months later a free pardon was sent to her. Mrs. Fry had found the right way of reforming the criminal. The school prospered; the mothers begged to be allowed to come to it. A jail committee of ladies was formed to look after things, and Mrs. Fry obtained the appointment of a matron to supervise the women, instead of the turnkey.

The next picture we have is given us by a gentleman who went to visit Newgate. He found Mrs. Fry sitting at the head of a table with sixteen prisoners, who sat sewing, dressed neatly in serge, each with a ticket with her number on it hanging from her neck. They rose and curtsied with happy, contented faces. That is what one woman's work had done in a short time.

Mrs. Fry kept up her work at the prison. She constantly would go to pray with and soothe some poor wretch the night before execution. These occasions were martyrdoms for her, as very often she knew that the punishment far exceeded the crime. In spite of all, she was able to soothe the last hours of those unfortunates. In the case of one poor woman, Elizabeth Fricker by name, who was accused of being merely accessory to a crime, Mrs. Fry used every effort to save her life, but in vain. Afterwards it was proved

that the woman was innocent. Such was the state of English justice then. One woman was condemned for murdering her baby under circumstances which recall the Daisy Lord case. Mrs. Fry was heartbroken at the sentence, which she knew was unjust, and said that only women could understand such cases. She was with the poor creature early on the morning of the execution.

By this time Elizabeth Fry's prison work had become famous. It became fashionable to go and visit Newgate and other prisons, and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London went in person to Newgate and were filled with amazement at what they saw. Mrs. Fry did not confine her work to Newgate. By request she visited Scottish prisons and travelled to St. Lazare in Paris. She was bidden to visit Queen Charlotte, who was immensely interested in her work. The Dowager Empress of Russia corresponded with her and the King of Prussia was greatly impressed by her ideas.

She had now firmly established the Association for the Improvement of Female Prisoners, which not only cared for those inside, but also helped them when they came out—the nucleus of our Prisoners' Aid Society. In 1818 Parliament took the matter up, and Mrs. Fry had to give evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons as to prison discipline. Not only were improvements made in Newgate, but also in all metropolitan prisons. Female prisons were improved, and prisons were built on new lines to take the place of the old dungeons and gate-houses formerly used as such.

Mrs. Fry was interested in other reforms, such as the condition of lunatics, and the barbarous way convicts were transported to Botany Bay. She sent books and Bibles to lonely coastguard stations. Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington went to visit the noble old reformer, who was then beginning to get feeble with her hard work, and whose aim through life had been to turn everything to good advantage, which none ever did so thoroughly as this splendid pioneer.

Elizabeth Fry died on October 13, 1845. No statue has ever been raised to the memory of the woman who did so much for her country and the world. Marble memorials have been raised to statesmen such as Richard Cobden, Bowland Hill, or Wilberforce; statues have been raised to the memory of soldiers, such as Havelock, or sailors, such as Blake, to philanthropists, great men-thinkers and scientists; but the memory of the woman who did as much for human progress as any of these, great as they were, is not perpetuated by her countrymen. Because she was a woman no national memorial was raised to her. It is high time that these false standards and ideas should be cast away! The reign of Truth is even now close at hand.

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THE WORK OF A WOMAN GARDENER.

Woman was the first gardener, and first by careful investigation learned what plants were good for food and how they could best be cultivated. Since primeval days, however, although gardening has been followed as a hobby by many women, gardening as a science and a profession fell into the hands of men. There it remained until only a few years ago, when the great movement to open avenues for women's activities touched also this, one of the oldest professions in the world. It is only fourteen years since as an experiment women were admitted to a horticultural college for men; five years later the experiment had justified itself so completely that the institution in question limited itself to women only. Since then an ever increasing number of women have entered the profession, and have done their work with the greatest credit.

What does this branch of work offer to women? It certainly does not tempt them with promises of a fortune; it merely promises, like so many other professions, that if a woman setting up for herself has capital to make a start, is properly trained and really hard-working, she can make a living at it after some years. For those who are less ambitious or lack capital there are private salaried posts varying from about £100 a year with rooms to as little as £20 a year resident. There is a living to be made in this way, but it is no easier than the other professions open to women. It offers, however, to the woman fond of open-air life and of a good physique a temptation hard to resist. It offers healthy, open-air conditions which many a worker in town might envy; it offers a life lived close to nature, the mother of us all; it offers the joy of creation, the pleasure of watching day by day the result of one's work, the joy of flowers—nature's daintiest handiwork—to satisfy the sense of beauty, and the satisfaction of fruit and the good things that nature brings out of the earth. This is the joyous and the æsthetic side of the work; but the joy comes, like all true joys, only after willing labour. Long hours summer and winter, hard manual work and responsibility, all fall to the share of the woman gardener.

One member of the W.S.P.U. who has started as a market-gardener goes out to work on the seven-acre farm which she and her partner have developed from rough land, at 6 a.m. in summer and 7 a.m. in winter. They take an hour, if work allows, for breakfast and another hour for dinner, and they work hard at manual labour with their farm "hands" until dusk. After the hands—two men and two boys—have left they spend the evening in account-keeping, writing out seed-lists, business correspondence, etc., and in carpentering. Her latest job has been making frames for the protection of young plants during the winter. The first hour of the day is spent in the stables, where the pony and donkey have to be fed and groomed.

Twelve hours a day, wet or fine, is the work of the woman gardener, and if she would succeed and win the loyalty and obedience of those under her she must be able to do every job herself, however hard or rough. She will have to mow, trench, and fork, work with a barrow, catch and harness the donkey and the pony, do the bookkeeping and correspondence connected with the work, dispatch boxes of fruit and vegetables, put up fencing. In the dark mornings of winter there is plenty to do in the green-houses.

Gardening is no amateur's work; it cannot be taken up

without a long and thorough training. The "English-woman's Year Book" gives sound advice in these words:—

"It is impossible in these days of keen competition and steady scientific progress to have a satisfactory up-to-date garden of any kind without a thorough knowledge of theoretic horticulture and the allied sciences, and there is as much scope in this profession for a good brain and a cultivated memory as for a robust physique and strong muscles. It is of the utmost importance in gardening, as



Photo by Carine Cadby, reproduced from *The World's Work*.

The Girl with the Hoe.

in everything else, that no girl should attempt to earn her living by it without undergoing an all-round practical and theoretic training in all branches for at least two years, and it is highly desirable that she should have a sound elementary grounding in botany, entomology, and the chemistry of the soil. In cases where a market garden or nursery is contemplated, book-keeping becomes a necessity. Of course it is out of the question that any girl can learn enough in two, or even three years, to become a first-rate gardener. The range of subjects is considerable, and the species of plants that have to be cultivated are quite innumerable, and increase from year to year as new varieties are brought out by hybridisers, and new importations made from foreign countries. The best course for a student on leaving the school or private garden where she has studied is to gain further experience either as an under-gardener on some estate, or by means of jobbing-work in the suburbs of a large town, until she feels herself competent to become a head-gardener, or, if she has capital, to start in independent business."

A less ambitious branch of the profession is French gardening on the *cloche* system. For this an acre or two of ground and capital of about £100 are needed. The bell-glasses or *cloches* under which the plants are grown and the frames together will probably cost three-quarters of this sum. With two or three ladies working together most of the digging could possibly be managed without outside assistance. A large supply of water and plenty of good manure are essential.

Agriculture and dairy-work is another form of outdoor employment. The best positions in this connection are the teaching ones, and it is only recently that a lady was sent from England to Rhodesia to instruct the farmers in the latest scientific methods in this connection. There are also good posts to be obtained as managers of dairies. For this branch of the work candidates must have a thorough knowledge of the management of a farm, including the rearing and feeding of stock, a thorough acquaintance with the management of a dairy, and the making of butter and cheese, practical skill in dairy work, and in addition a capacity for imparting instruction to others. It is said that the prospects for women carrying on a small dairy farm of their own are very good, providing that those attempting it have been properly trained. A fair amount of capital is also required. For the rougher parts of the work a cowman must be employed, but personal supervision and attention by the principals is absolutely necessary. To sell butter and milk, &c., to private

customers is better than selling to shops. The sale of new milk is of course the most remunerative, but the outlay is necessarily very large at the start. It is stated by an authority that a return on the initial expenses may be looked for in three or four years.

A picture of the life of a woman gardener on a large country estate is given in a recent number of the *World's Work*, by Mrs. Carine Cadby. She points out that occupation is bound to influence character. The girl gardener will not be quite like her indoor sisters. She lives practically in the open, and her interests have to do with Nature and growing things. She has little time for accomplishments, and her fingers would be too stiff for musical instruments and too rough for fine needlework; but she has time for reading, and while working in her garden has plenty of opportunities for thinking things out.

She stands aloof from the rush and complications of life. Her nerves are not fretted with modern restlessness. She is calm and confident that what she is doing is well worth while, and very certain that she, at least, is not mistaking the shadow for the substance.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Spreading the Movement.

Members are reminded of the importance of bringing the movement to a large circle of new readers during the holidays, and their attention is drawn to the interesting competition for paper-sellers which is now in progress, and of which full particulars may be had from the Circulation Manager, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Holiday Campaign.

Now is the opportunity for members who are having their holiday to work in new fields, and thus have the pleasure of working up new districts that have hitherto known little of the movement. Members at holiday centres are urged to "do the work that's nearest," canvassing, selling the paper, or holding meetings, and to send reports to the Editor of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

The Woman's Press.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, will shortly have on sale a book published at 1s. (discount price 9d.) by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, and containing the arguments used in the House of Commons by M.P.'s favourable to the Woman Suffrage Bill. It is called *The Men's Case for One Million Votes for Women*, and we recommend it to our readers.

A leaflet dealing with the Conciliation Bill is also in course of preparation, and will be on sale in a few days. In response to the request of several members, last week's cartoon, "What's Sauce for the Peer is Sauce for the Premier," is being reproduced in postcard form at one penny, and will be obtainable next week from the Woman's Press. This postcard shows the situation at a glance, and is as powerful as any verbal argument. It should have a ready sale at meetings during the summer months.

THE WOMEN'S MARSEILLAISE.

Peal on, wild triumph of the world's oppressed,
Till at thy clarion from the depths arise
Dim spectres, shadowy faces, awful eyes,
Vast hosts of the forlorn and the unblest,
Marched in solemn pomp at thy behest,
Blend in one mighty hymn that never dies,
From their tost ranks all vague confused cries:
Nor ever let the accusing phantoms rest.
Long as the weak wall trampled by the strong;
Long as one dumb thing's writhing in the dust;
Long as one sick thing, fainting, is down thrust;
Long as one lost thing's outcast and accursed;
Long as one slave lives, burdened with a wrong;
Long as man's heart beats, shall beat on this song!

MARY GEOGHEGAN.

W.S.P.U. MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability to further the campaign funds of the Union.

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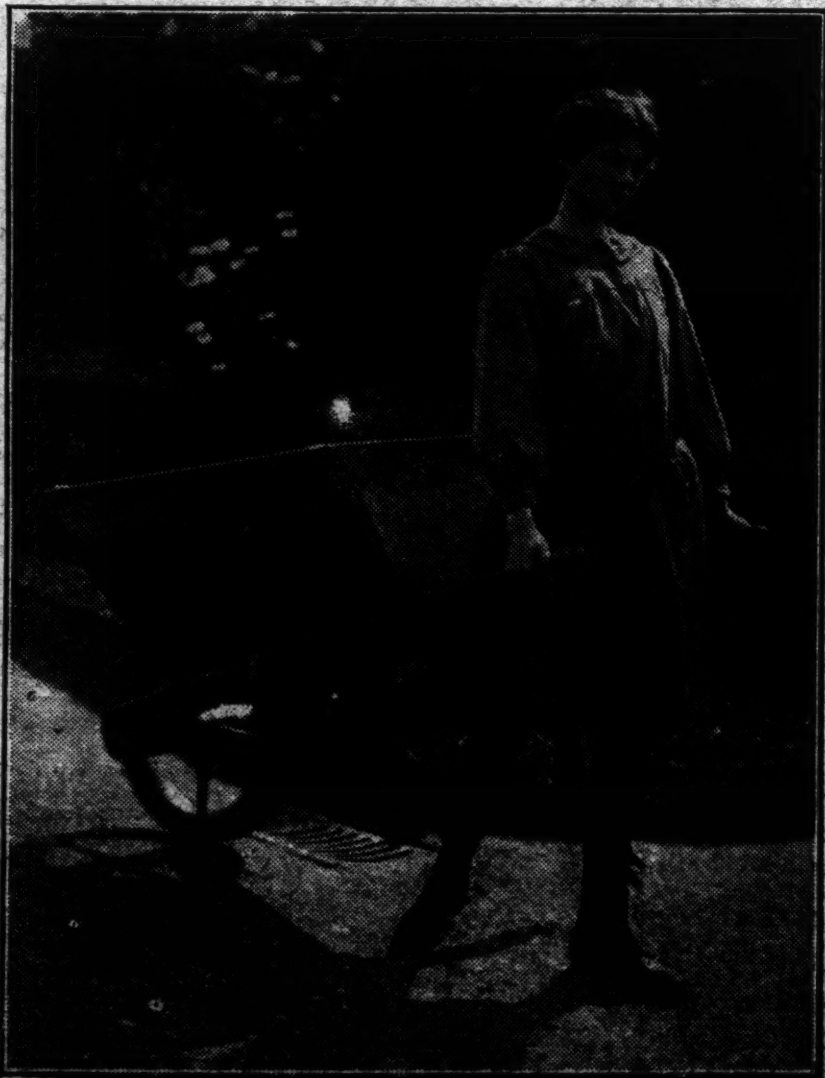


Photo by Carine Cadby, reproduced from *The World's Work*.
A Woman Gardener.

WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE.

— BY —
F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

A description of what women are asking for, why they need the Vote, and what they have done to get it. The arguments of Anti-Suffragists are given and replied to. The militant methods are explained. Read the following:—

PRESS OPINIONS. MORNING LEADER.

The publication of "Women's Fight for the Vote" is timely, and a special chapter is devoted by Mr. Pethick Lawrence to the consideration of the new Bill. It need hardly be said that he represents the case for the suffrage as emphatically as possible, and a single chapter devoted to anti-suffrage arguments demolishes its opponents on general grounds effectively and with moderation. Much of the book is historical, and it is no disadvantage that it has been written by an enthusiast for liberty and a competent lawyer. . . . The value of this little book is that it puts in a perfectly clear and nearly always temperate form the extreme point of view. Incidentally it contains not only a strong plea for the suffrage, but one of the briefest and most convenient accounts available of the existing franchise qualifications.

ABERDEEN FREE PRESS.

This is a work which should be in the hands of all advocates of Woman's Suffrage; it is an armoury of facts and arguments. . . . The book is divided into short chapters, which cover the ground comprehensively and cogently.

THE NATION.

Mr. Lawrence's book is a plain and straightforward account of the Suffragist demand, its justice and necessity, the objections raised to it, and its history up to the present crisis of the Conciliation Bill. Anyone who wishes to become acquainted with the meaning of the whole movement from the Suffragist side could not learn the facts better than here.

CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH.

This readable book, which covers all the ground so easily that it can be read from cover to cover in an hour, places reliable information within the reach of everyone inclined to believe that 617 women have not suffered imprisonment out of desire for notoriety.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK. A Suffragist's Great-Grandfather.

The father of savings banks for the people was a Scottish minister, Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell, whose story is told by his great grand-daughter, Mrs. Sophy Hall, in a recently published monograph. It is a story of a man of simple heart and sincere character, a story of a keen observer of the economic conditions of the day who made use of his knowledge with practical effect, a story of a fearless fighter in the cause of his religion and a lifelong champion of the poor. A delightful description is given of the village and manse of Ruthwell, which for forty-seven years was hallowed and gladdened by the beloved presence of this brother and friend of his people.

The condition of the agricultural labourers he took deeply to heart. Yet he realised that "if you confine yourself to the relief of poverty you do little; dry up, if possible, the springs of poverty, for every attempt to stem the running stream has signally failed." In those days any form of thrift was well nigh impossible for the working classes. The public banks did not take less than £10, and the want of any safe place to keep small amounts prevented the people from attempting to save money. A stocking, a chink in the wall, a loose board in the floor, was the only resource, and the presence of a little hoard quickly became known to others, and laid those who possessed it open to the importunate appeals of the thriftless, and sometimes also to the danger of robbery. Thus there was small inducement to make provision for sickness or bad seasons. The minister determined to become the repository for the savings of his parishioners.

The first savings bank was a strong iron box, with three different locks that could only be opened in the presence of the three persons who were entrusted with the several keys. During the first year the deposits amounted to £151, in the second year £176, in the third year £241, in the fourth year £322, and the savings bank became an institution. Then letters began to pour in from all over the country asking for information. He spent hours of every morning before the world was awake in dealing with this correspondence, bearing the whole expenses, which were exceedingly heavy. In 1814 he published an essay which quickly passed into several editions. In Manchester, Exeter, Southampton, Bristol, and Carlisle similar establishments were founded.

It was not till some years after the founding of the parish bank at Ruthwell, that savings banks were put under Government protection. The first Act was passed in 1817. Up to that date, the only guarantee for the poor that their savings were in safe-keeping was the honesty and integrity of their appointed trustees.

The story of the fight that had to be made before this Bill was carried is told with graphic detail. Enemies and mischief-makers arose, as the idea became popular and successful. Many of the important banks set themselves against the measure, *The Times* was hostile, and the forces of Conservatism were arrayed against the innovation. Cobden, the people's champion, was bitterly opposed to the scheme, called it "The New Cheat" and was virulent in his denunciation. Nothing daunted, the minister determined to leave his beloved manse and set out for London to meet his opponents face to face.

It took him seven days' hard riding to reach London, and there he stayed, and there he interviewed people of importance from morning till night, day after day, week after week, and month after month till he saw his Bill carried through Parliament and passed into law. He returned to his dear Ruthwell, and thenceforth no offer to larger and more lucrative livings ever could tempt him to leave it.

Many other achievements were added to his later record. The story is all the more interesting to Suffragists because the fighting spirit of the father of savings banks has fallen upon his descendants. The writer of this memorial and her sisters are working to-day in the same spirit for the political emancipation of women as the great-grandfather worked for the economic welfare of the working people.

E. P. L.

A NEW ZEALANDER'S VIEW.

A trenchant reply has been written by Dr. Chapple, M.P., in answer to a letter asking his support for the Women's Anti-Suffrage League. He writes:—"For sixteen years I have observed the working of Women's Suffrage in New Zealand and am satisfied that it has promoted the political and general education of women, giving prominence and remedy to many social injustices from which women suffered, promoted the purity and decorum of elections, stimulated public conscience and promoted social reform, and that with these great and far-reaching advantages which have flowed from the enfranchisement of women, there are no countervailing disadvantages, at least apparent to me. Your over-sea sisterhood look on with no little surprise at the indifference of British women to political emancipation, but they are amazed beyond measure at the active propaganda by women in Britain against a reform based upon justice, counselled by wisdom and justified by experience." Dr. Chapple, it will be remembered, was one of the speakers at the New Zealand platform in Hyde Park on July 23.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Englishwoman's Review." July. 23, Berners Street, Oxford Street. 1s. net.
"The Englishwoman." July. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1s. net.
"The Flower Maker." By Norah Doyle. Garden City Press, Ltd. 6d. net.
"The Occult Review." August. London: Wm. Rider and Son, Ltd. 6d. net.

"Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell." By Sophy Hall. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier. 2s. 6d. net.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 5, 1910.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY.

The negative reply which the Government have made to the Conciliation Committee's request for facilities for the Woman Suffrage Bill is now before us in full. It is contained in the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Lytton, and in Mr. Lloyd George's answers to questions in the House of Commons. Both Ministers, in announcing that the Government intend to give no facilities for the Bill, refer their questioners to the statement made by Mr. Asquith on the 23rd of June. In the course of that statement, after announcing that time would be provided for the second reading of the measure, Mr. Asquith, although he said that in view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business and the Government's own decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, they could not afford any further facilities to the Bill in the present Session, afterwards proceeded to say: "The Government recognise that the House ought to have opportunities, if it is their deliberate desire, of effectively dealing with the whole question."

The supporters of the Bill claim that the Government ought now, in accordance with this undertaking, to allow the House freedom to carry the Bill through its remaining stages. The two excuses for not doing so which the Prime Minister raised on June 23 were from the first wholly inadequate, and have now disappeared. For, in the first place, the Government have since that date decided to resume business in the Autumn, and thus to prolong the Session beyond its usual limits. Moreover, by

getting the Declaration Bill, to which innumerable amendments were proposed, through the Committee stage in a single day, they have shown how little time is really needed to carry the Suffrage Bill. In the second place they have already gone back on their decision not to prosecute contentious legislation. The Declaration Bill was highly contentious, and excited widespread opposition, some of which the Government could overcome only by making certain eleventh-hour concessions. In short, the only part of the Prime Minister's statement which now remains operative is that in which he recognised the right of the House, if it was their deliberate desire, of effectively dealing with the whole question of Woman Suffrage.

Evidently the Government realise the weakness of their position, for both the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George are trying to escape, by means of a quibble, the binding force of this pledge. That is to say, they argue that the present Suffrage Bill, because limited in scope by its title, does not supply a sufficient test of the will of the House of Commons. This verbal trickery is intended to, but will not, deceive either the House of Commons or the country. Every Bill which the Government themselves introduce is limited in its scope. None of these Bills deal with the "whole" of any question. Persons who attempt so to extend a Bill as to alienate support and secure its defeat, the Government denounce as wreckers. The real quarrel which the Government have with the title of the Conciliation Bill is that it defends the Bill from their destructive attack. They are baffled and disappointed by the impossibility of extending it and thus rendering it unrecognisable and unpopular in the House. The Bill as it stands has the support of all sections of the House. The Government would like so to deal with it as to rob it of the support of all save a few men of extreme views.

Undismayed by the Government's hostility, the Conciliation Committee are going forward with their Bill, and if they are supported by those members who compose the great majority recorded for the Bill, the Government must yield, just as, for example, they yielded to the demand that the Declaration Bill should be so modified as to bring it into accordance with Non-conformist feeling. The Government may juggle with words but they cannot alter the facts of the situation. Let the supporters of the Bill stand upon their right as a majority, and victory is assured. As an earnest of the vigorous effort which they intend to make in the coming months in support of the Bill, members taking part in the motion for the adjournment expressed in stern and outspoken fashion their censure of the Government's refusal to grant facilities. In this double battle for the political freedom of women and for the right of the people as a whole to have their views carried into effect by their elected representatives, the House of Commons will have enthusiastic support in the country. Mr. Snowden struck the right note when he challenged the Government to explain what is the difference between the veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the veto of a non-elected House of Lords, and Lord Hugh Cecil's claim that the overwhelming power of the Government to influence legislation is a matter of grave constitutional moment will be heartily responded to by the public. We may look to see, in the interval between now and the re-assembling of Parliament, the rising of a wave of political opinion which will sweep away the veto which the Prime Minister at present puts upon the Conciliation Bill.

But the guiding principle of the Women's Social and Political Union has ever been self-reliance, and therefore we are preparing ourselves to take action should this hope of a peaceful victory be unfulfilled at the time when Parliamentary business begins again. There will be ample time in this interval for peaceful representations and peaceful effort to have their full effect, and if, when he once more faces Parliament, the Prime Minister still refuses to grant facilities, that will be a sign that such measures have failed, and that measures more vigorous are necessary. A few days later, a great deputation of women will present themselves at St. Stephen's to demand the act of justice which the Prime Minister denies in response to milder measures. Already a large number of women have written to Clement's Inn to say that they claim the honour and the privilege of forming part of the great Deputation, and amongst these volunteers are women who have hitherto abstained from anything approaching militancy. The coming weeks will be a time of recruiting for the great women's army which, if other measures fail, is to assemble at Westminster in the cause of constitutional liberty.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THE BABY AND THE VOTE.

The time has gone by when at a public meeting the question is asked, "Why do women need the vote?" But, in spite of the 50,000 public meetings held during the last four years by the Women's Social and Political Union alone and the thousands held by all the various other Suffrage societies, in spite of such educational work as has never been done in connection with any other great political movement, there are still some isolated individuals who believe, and others who pretend to believe, that there is no urgent need for giving the Parliamentary franchise to women.

And yet it is almost impossible to pick up a daily newspaper and glance through its columns without finding proof of the urgent necessity of votes for women. And this is, in part, due to the fact that the Press has become woman-conscious. For the first time for many a long day the political parties and the political papers have awakened to the fact that women actually exist in the nation, and this fact is an everyday surprise and sensation at the present moment. It is as though the world just now were mainly concerned about women. That is one of the many by-products of this agitation.

Looking through the newspapers a day or two ago, my glance was arrested by a headline, "Mothers Without Aid," which occurred in the middle of an article entitled "Rural Chaos." This is what I read:—

Next there is the question of midwives. Out of 686 parishes in Norfolk only 186 are covered by the existing midwives, leaving mothers of no less than 510 parishes entirely without qualified aid! My figures are taken from the latest report of the lady inspector and superintendent of midwives in Norfolk, dated June 4, 1910. In some parts of the county the nurse-midwife covers three or four parishes combined together, but even if this plan were generally adopted, it would still be necessary to have 164 more midwives for the county to be efficiently served. If the present rate of increase of midwives is maintained, viz., five per annum, it will be 34 years before the requisite number is reached.

This state of things is the direct result of a Bill enacted in Parliament in 1902 called The Midwives Act. This Bill very rightly and wisely, so far as it went, raised the qualification standard for midwives. But the men who drafted the Bill and the men who passed it into law not being responsible to women, not thinking it necessary to ascertain their point of view, were only able to see a very small part of the problem. They forgot all about the women in the scattered parishes of the country, who by this Act were deprived of the help that had hitherto been at their disposal, and were left in their direst hour of need without any kind of experienced assistance whatsoever. This Bill, as all women guardians and experienced social workers knew at the time, was bound to do great injury in one direction, while it was doing good in the other.

The problem was not insoluble and is not insoluble to-day. The Government takes the responsibility of seeing to it that no soldier who bears arms potentially or actually for his country's defence and welfare shall lack due medical assistance when he requires it. The service of the woman who bears children for the defence and welfare of her country is no less valuable, and entails no less sacrifice, and should meet with no less consideration on the part of the Government. It is a national scandal that the mothers in 510 parishes in one English county alone should be "entirely without qualified aid." This state of things which exists all over the country is directly due to Parliamentary interference which acts either in ignorance of or in callous disregard to the need of these women. It is one of the bad results of man-made law, and a further proof, if one more proof were needed, that it is necessary to the vital interests of womanhood and motherhood that women should possess the Parliamentary vote.

The Bitter Cry of the Child.

Let me take one more case in point from recent newspaper articles. A new Report on Infant and Child Mortality has within the last few days been presented to Parliament. The *Times*, commenting on this report, says:—"The bitter cry of the perishing children should not be suffered to remain unheard." And yet in the face of such a subject as this women are told that politics is a matter that does not concern them. Is the bitter cry of the perishing child no matter of concern to women? In the earlier days of this Votes for Women agitation, Suffragists were exhorted by the man in the street to "Go home and mind the baby." The man in the street knows better now. He knows that women have to go into politics in order to "mind the baby." Women have a divine right to be the first to hear, and heed the cry of the child. There is nothing in all the world that is more essentially their business. The bitter cry of the perishing children is not unheard by the women of

to-day; they are endeavouring to break down the door which the politician has locked, bolted, and barred, and which prevents them from coming to the rescue.

I recommend the readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* to get this report, which can be purchased for the sum of 1s. 3d. from any bookseller, and to study it carefully. The chief causes of infant mortality are overcrowding, defects of sanitation, and evils of housing. "Women's place is the home." Then it is woman's business to see that every woman in the land has a decent home to live in. Bad housing is a question that affects women more vitally even than men.

The highest rate of mortality occurs in the mining counties (Glamorgan, Durham, Northumberland, Monmouth, Carmarthen, and Stafford). In these districts the women do not work for wages. They are engaged in the unpaid work of the home. And that is the hardest work of any that women can do, and the cause of many premature births. The following most significant report of Dr. Townsley I have not seen noticed in any of the Press comments. With regard to Ardsley he writes:—

As the majority of the mothers in the township belong to the working classes, and, as a consequence, have to perform the whole of their household duties without assistance up to the time of their confinement, it is almost to be expected that a certain number of premature births would occur. In a colliery district the amount of household washing is greater than in other districts, and as the work is exceedingly laborious, entailing the lifting of heavy washtubs and laborious mangling of clothes, it is hardly to be wondered at that such occasions are often the cause of premature labour.

Glamorgan, Northumberland, Durham, and Monmouth have the lowest proportion of industrially employed married and widowed women, and they have also the highest infant mortality.

These data are exceedingly important to women in view of the remedy for this terrible problem suggested in a concluding sentence of the *Times*' leading article:—

"Mr. Burns should be supported by public opinion in an endeavor to improve the conditions" described in Dr. Newsholme's report. Mr. John Burns has made no secret of the measure which he would choose to apply to the case. In furtherance of his fixed idea of keeping women "in their proper place," he would, if supported by public opinion, i.e., by the male electors of the country, use the misery of children as an excuse for passing repressive laws against mothers, restricting their industrial freedom. He would take advantage of the voteless condition of women which makes them politically helpless to oust them from their well-paid skilled labour in the textile industries, and thrust them back to the washtub and the mangling machine, aye, and worse than that. He would thrust them back into economic dependence upon a husband unable or unwilling to maintain his wife and family in decent fashion. Semi-starvation would thus be added to the horrors of bad housing and defective sanitation, and the last state of the children would be worse than the first.

Had it not been for the recent awakening of women, Mr. John Burns would have been able no doubt to deprive married women of the right to earn wages and secure themselves a maintenance that they cannot claim as a right either from the husband or the State. Another fetter would have been placed on women's freedom, another stone rolled against their prison door of legal disability, and a further injury done to the children.

The Effect of the Vote.

The four years of agitation for the vote have done much to safeguard the position of women and to bring about many reforms of profound significance. It is interesting to note that it is during the last four years that there has been a decline, and an increasing decline, of infant mortality, which, in the words of Dr. Newsholme, "is unexampled." The awakening of women, which will inevitably result in the winning of the vote, will have inestimable results for good upon the future of this country and the future of the British race.

In New Zealand some years ago the politicians of the country were confronted by this same ghastly problem of the high rate of mortality amongst infants. They gave women the vote. What is the result? The death rate of infants has steadily decreased until at the present day it is lowest in the civilised world. And the politicians of this country, if they really care about the welfare of the children, must follow the example of the statesmen of New Zealand.

By so doing they will set at liberty not only a new moral force, but a new store of expert knowledge gained by generations of experience in the nursery and the home.

To exclude women from their own sphere, to tie their hands, and prevent them from "minding the baby," to attempt to rear a healthy race without securing their co-operation, is a folly which in view of the serious national consequences that are involved deserves a sterner name. To-day women refuse to be excluded from their duty which is also their right. And at all costs, at all risks, they are determined to win the vote.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND

July 15 to July 22.

July 15 to July 22.	July 23 to July 29.
Already acknowledged 72,440 13 5	Miss C. W. Hagg 0 1 0
"An Unlooker" 2 0 0	Miss A. P. Carruthers 0 1 0
Mr. & Mrs. F. L. Impely 1 10 0	Miss Garry 0 2 0
Miss Alice Cobbett 0 1 0	Miss J. Phipps 1 0 0
Mrs. C. Dunn 1 1 0	Miss B. Login 0 2 5
Miss Alice M. Baker 5 0 0	Miss H. Login 1 0 0
Miss Gentle 2 0 0	Mrs. Shirley 0 1 0
Miss Dobson 0 3 8	Per Mrs. M. Clarke
Anon. 100 0 0	Profit on Literature 1 0 0
Mrs. Mary Evans 0 10 6	Per Mrs. Corson
Miss A. Hambrook 0 2 0	Miss McCulloch 0 2 5
Miss Biss Gye 0 10 0	Per Mrs. Crofts
Miss Daisy Haswell 0 5 0	Mrs. Brannan 2 15 0
Anon. (Anti) 0 0 11	Miss Brannan 10 6 0
Mrs. Margaret Hodge 2 2 0	Miss Crofts 0 3 0
Miss Constance M. Ellis 0 1 0	Mrs. Thomas 0 2 0
"Joan" 0 2 0	Dr. McCrombie 2 2 0
"A Naval Sympathiser" 5 0 0	Per Mrs. D. Evans
Mrs. Hertha Ayton 200 0 0	Miss Bray (per) 0 10 0
Miss Barbara Ayton 5 0 0	Mrs. Abbott 0 2 6
Mrs. Constance Goldring 1 0 0	Mrs. Grew 0 2 0
J. M. Bull, Esq. 2 2 0	Miss Lottie Floyd 10 0 0
Anon. 1 0 0	Miss Haley 0 10 0
Miss Marie Baetz 1 1 0	Miss Mary Floyd 5 0 0
Dr. Alice Vowles Johnson 0 2 0	Mrs. Gristwood 4 1 0
Miss A. C. Ambrose 0 2 0	Speakers' Glass Fees 0 1 0
Miss Margaret Bray 0 10 0	Miss Saxelby 0 2 0
Miss G. Evans 0 2 6	Working Man 0 0 2
Miss R. Allen-Orley 1 0 0	Mrs. Parker 0 5 0
Dr. Mabel Hardie 1 0 0	Mrs. W. H. Ryland 0 10 0
Anon. per Mrs. Mansell-Moulin 1 1 0	Mrs. Byron-Smith 0 5 0
G. R. A. 3 0 0	Per Hon. Mrs. Haverfield
Mrs. Septimus Harwood, M.A. 5 0 0	Mrs. Franklin 0 5 0
"A Grateful Guest" 0 7 6	Miss M. Green 0 5 0
Miss Rhoda Earl 0 10 0	The Misses Hull 1 2 0
Miss Gladice Keovil 1 0 0	Per Mrs. A. Kewley
Miss Marion Ferguson 1 0 0	Miss A. M. Hechels 5 0 0
Mrs. Telfrey Christie 0 5 0	Mrs. Bailey 0 5 0
Lady Jenkinson 3 0 0	Mrs. Harris 0 17 0
Mrs. Annie Darley 0 5 0	Miss Clutterbuck 0 5 6
Miss Boyerhaus 0 5 0	Miss Andrews 0 1 0
Mrs. Le L. Edwards 5 0 0	A Sympathiser 0 2 6
Mrs. Dallas Askew 1 0 0	Profit on Literature 5 9 0
Miss M. A. Grenvill 0 10 0	Rt. Hon. B. B. T.
Dr. Katherine Chapman 2 2 0	Strangways 3 2 0
Miss C. Wolsey Halg 0 10 0	Miss B. Lord 0 2 0
Miss F. A. Cronin 0 10 6	Mrs. Senior 0 2 6
Miss E. E. Adams 0 10 6	Mrs. Page 0 2 6
Anon. 1 0 0	Miss Page 0 1 0
Miss F. B. Bardsley 0 10 0	Per Mrs. C. Maryesson
Miss L. N. Barber 0 2 6	C. H. Stansfield, Esq. 10 0 0
Mrs. Rachael Keeling 0 10 0	Mrs. K. A. Oliver 1 1 0
Anon. 1 0 0	Per Mrs. D. Pethick
Mrs. Gould 5 0 0	Miss K. Jorwood 0 3 0
Mrs. Isabella Fairfield 0 2 6	Miss Edith Frisby 0 2 6
Miss Cicely Fairfield 0 2 6	Mrs. Evelyn Caryer 1 1 0
E. M. Harvey, Esq. 1 0 0	Miss Rosa Caryer 1 0 0
Miss Forster 0 10 0	Mrs. Bennett 0 2 6
Miss B. C. Collier 1 0 0	Miss Frisby 0 1 1
Mrs. Fauny Bullock 5 0 0	Mrs. Dodds 0 5 9
Workman 5 0 0	The Misses Caryer 2 2 0
Miss E. K. Orwin 1 0 0	Mrs. Peil Smith 0 5 0
Dr. Caroline Sturge 10 10 0	Mrs. Taylor 0 0 6
Miss G. Whiston 1 1 0	Miss Stafford 0 0 5
Miss Anna Martin 5 0 0	Mrs. Miller 0 5 0
Mrs. Rosa Glover 1 0 0	Miss D. Pethick 5 0 0
Miss Edith Anstruther 0 2 6	Profit on "V. F. W." 0 9 0
Miss Isabel F. Barrett 0 10 0	Profit on Shop 2 6 7
A German Member 0 3 6	Per Mrs. Phillips
Mrs. Dahl 0 10 0	Mrs. Beldon 0 5 6
Mrs. Gover 0 5 0	C. H. Merivale, Esq. 0 1 0
A Friend 5 0 0	Per Mrs. Robinson
Miss Elizabeth Thompson 2 2 0	Mrs. Britton 1 0 0
Miss Ethel Lowy 1 1 0	P. J. Bailey, Esq. 0 1 0
Mrs. Oliver 5 0 0	Miss A. Hyde 0 1 0
Mrs. A. M. J. Sals 1 1 0	Miss E. Arensburg 0 1 0
Miss C. Mackenzie 3 3 0	Miss F. Arensburg 0 1 0
Mrs. Eva Mackenzie 3 3 0	Miss Jones-Brown, Esq. 0 5 0
Mrs. Jane Mackay 1 0 0	Mrs. Decima Moore 1 17 0
Miss H. K. Morgan-Browne 1 0 0	Per Mrs. C. R. R.
Mrs. Thornburgh 3 0 0	Mrs. Lilian C. Cranfield 100 0 0
Mrs. B. Zangwill 20 0 0	Miss Cay 0 10 0
Miss Ruth Lowy 1 0 0	Mrs. Arthur Turner 0 5 0
"R. E. F." 2 0 0	For V. F. W. Prizes.
Miss E. M. Middleton 1 0 0	Miss Gordon Holmes 0 4 0
Miss F. M. Wright 2 0 0	For Procession.
Miss G. A. Richard 0 10 0	Irish Contingent (per
Mrs. L. Luke 1 1 0	Miss Lennor)
Miss Mary Moger 0 2 6	The Hon. Miss Massey 0 3 0
Mrs. Stanley Moger 0 2 0	Mrs. Hobson 0 2 6
Mrs. Mary Montague 2 2 0	Miss Shannon 0 2 6
Miss Kate Smith 1 1 0	Miss Hickey 0 2 0
Miss I. D. Singer 5 0 0	Miss Williams 0 1 0
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst 2 2 0	Miss O'Connell Hayes 0 1 0
Miss Anne Fitzhugh-Miller (Pank. Asquith fines) 0 0 10	Miss Garrett 0 1 0
Miss Schirmacher 0 8 0	Miss McPeck 0 1 0
Mrs. Ernest Lowy 50 0 0	Miss Smith 0 1 0
Ernest D. Lowy, Esq. 50 0 0	Flags and badges sold 5 0 0
Mrs. F. E. Lapworth 3 0 0	Miss Beatrice Sotheran 5 0 0
Mrs. A. A. Page 0 10 0	Miss Florence Sotheran 5 0 0
Mrs. Harley Withers 5 5 0	Anon. (given at St. James's Hall) 2 2 0
Mrs. Eunice Richmond 5 5 0	Miss Elizabeth Thompson 2 2 0
Lady Nottage 1 1 0	Miss M. A. Woods 5 0 0
Mrs. E. M. Webb 10 10 0	Miss Bessie B. Bowerman 0 5 0
Miss B. Sanders 1 1 0	"D. R." 0 2 6
Mrs. J. C. Pollock 3 0 0	Mrs. Beatty 0 5 0
Miss M. H. Palfrey 0 10 0	Miss Chalmers 0 5 0
Mrs. H. McCalmont 50 0 0	Miss Margaret Hodge 0 4 6
Miss M. B. Nesham 1 1 0	Mrs. Violet Jones 1 1 0
Miss E. and P. Noble 1 0 0	Misses A. and D. Allen-Brown 1 0 0
Mrs. J. M. White 1 0 0	American Women (per
Mrs. A. J. C. Rodney (coll.) 1 5 0	Miss Freeman) 1 0 0
Mrs. Helen Whitten 0 5 0	Business Women (per
Mrs. E. M. Price 0 2 0	Miss Vibert) 0 10 0
Lady Isabel Margesson 1 1 0	Miss F. L. Carnegie 0 5 0
Miss N. K. Westbrook 0 7 6	Miss M. J. T. Campbell 0 10 0
Joseph Vickery, Esq. 0 5 0	Mrs. Wallace 0 10 0
Miss Smith 1 1 0	Miss Maud F. Roll 1 1 0
Miss B. J. Morley 0 10 0	Miss E. K. Orwin 1 0 0
Mrs. Mackworth 2 0 0	Mrs. Powell 0 10 0
Mrs. K. Stuart 2 0 0	Miss Wildcombe 0 10 0
Mrs. Helen Vernet 5 0 0	Miss J. Gray Perkins 0 0 1
Miss H. M. Walton 2 3 0	Miss E. K. Vincent 0 15 0
Miss Mansel 0 5 0	Mrs. Mary Parr 1 1 0
Miss M. Taylor 4 4 0	Miss Vera Swan 2 2 0
Mrs. Perry 5 0 0	Lady Stout 1 5 0
Miss Gertrude Lowy 0 10 0	Miss Eleanor Lyndon 0 5 0
Miss Miller 0 1 6	Miss R. Roll 0 5 0
Miss Edith Marsden 3 13 6	Miss Lena Willocks 0 5 0
Miss Eleanor Lyndon 0 5 0	Nurse Mary Trevena 0 5 0
Mrs. Wrightson 5 0 0	Three Friends 0 10 0
Miss Florence White 1 1 0	Plymouth Constitution-als 0 10 0
Miss Mary Williams 1 0 0	Women's Sanitary Inspectors 0 7 0
Mrs. Rose 0 15 0	Membership Fees 7 13 0
Miss C. E. Vasseur 0 10 0	Collection, etc.
Mrs. A. Thomas 0 5 0	London 58 17 7
Miss Elizabeth Robins 5 0 0	Per Mrs. L. Alisworth 0 3 2
Miss B. Sotheran 1 0 0	Miss Burns 0 12 11
Miss F. Sotheran 1 0 0	Miss Clarke 0 16 0
Mrs. E. K. Marshall 1 1 0	Miss O'Grady 0 2 2
Mrs. J. Lascoll 0 0 0	Miss D. Evans 0 3 4
Mrs. E. M. Wilmet-Buxton 0 5 0	Miss A. Kettley 0 14 6
Miss J. Llewellyn 0 10 0	Miss Margesson 0 6 0
Miss Lillian Pike 0 2 0	Miss D. Pethick 1 9 0
Mrs. Wollersley 2 2 0	Miss Phillips 1 3 3
Miss E. B. Ross 10 0 0	Miss Robinson 1 0 3
Oxford W.S.P.U. 4 4 0	Miss Roe 28 18 3
Per Mrs. L. Alisworth 0 11 6	Total = 475,309 15 10
Mrs. Coops 0 5 0	
Per Mrs. L. R. R. 0 1 0	
Extra on "V. F. W." Sale of Work (Porto-licio) 40 8 8	

THE GOVERNMENT REFUSE FACILITIES FOR THE BILL.

Firm Attitude of the Conciliation Committee. Questions in the House of Commons: "The Veto of a Non-Elected Prime Minister."

TEXT OF THE BILL.
TO EXTEND THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE TO WOMEN OCCUPIERS.
As it enacted, etc.:

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten-pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1832), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.
2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.
3. This Act may be cited as "The Representation of the People Act, 1910."

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

On Thursday last week the Bill formed the subject of questions in the House of Commons. Mr. Snowden (Blackburn, Lab.) asked the Prime Minister, in view of the majority by which the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill was carried on the second reading, what facilities he proposed to give for its further stages in the present Session in this House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who replied on behalf of the Premier, said:—As my right hon. friend stated on June 23, the Government cannot give any further facilities to this Bill in the present Session.

Mr. Bathurst (Wilton, Opp.).—Have the Government yet considered the desirability of taking the opinion of the electorate on this matter by referendum?

Mr. Snowden (Blackburn, Lab.).—With reference to the answer given by the Prime Minister on June 23, is it not the fact that the Prime Minister said the House of Commons, if it so desired, should have further opportunities of considering this question, and, in view of that statement, are not the Government prepared to stand by the promise made by the Prime Minister?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.—I think the hon. member is mistaken as to the pledge of the Prime Minister. The pledge given was that the Government in this Parliament would give an opportunity for effectively dealing with the whole question. But inasmuch as this Bill is so framed that the House of Commons cannot effectively deal with the whole question, but only with part of it, we certainly cannot give further facilities.

Mr. Snowden.—Was the decision announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his first answer arrived at in order to ensure that the will of the people as expressed by their representatives should take full effect within the lifetime of one Parliament?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer.—I quite agree. But if Bills are so framed that you cannot even ascertain what the will of the people's representatives is, there is no reason why special opportunities should be given for dealing with such Bills. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Snowden.—Is it not the fact that this House of Commons has declared by a majority that it wants this Bill to be passed into law—(cries of "No, no")—and is not the House of Commons to be permitted to give effect to its vote? May I also ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state what is the difference between the Veto of a non-elected Prime Minister and the Veto of a non-elected House of Lords? (Opposition cheers and laughter.)

The Speaker.—Order, order! No man can answer the second question; the first one everybody can answer for himself. (Laughter.)

Mr. Keir Hardie.—Since the Government are not satisfied with the form of the Bill before the House, are they prepared to introduce one of their own to give effect to their own ideas on the subject?

The Speaker.—Notice should be given of that question.

The second reading of this Bill was carried on July 12, after a two-days' debate, by 109 votes, the figures being:—Ayes, 239; Noes, 190.

THE REQUEST FOR FURTHER FACILITIES.

The following correspondence has taken place between Lord Lytton, the chairman of the Conciliation Committee, and the Prime Minister with regard to further facilities for the later stages of the Bill.

11, North Audley Street, W.,
July 19, 1910.

To the Right Hon. the Prime Minister.
Dear Mr. Asquith.—The Conciliation Committee composed of the members of Parliament who are promoting the Women's Suffrage Bill, now before the House of Commons, are anxious to lay before you their reasons for demanding facilities for the remaining stages of the Bill, and they therefore asked you to receive a deputation of its members who could state their case. As, however, you do

not see your way to receive a deputation, and have asked us to communicate with you in writing, the Committee has instructed me to state the grounds on which their application is based.

In answer to Mr. Shackleton's question in the House of Commons on June 23, you expressed the willingness of the Government to grant time for a full discussion on the second reading of the Bill, but added that the exigencies of other Parliamentary business prevented the Government from granting further facilities this session. If you had said nothing more, and if the session were to terminate in August, as was expected at that time, we should realise that our appeal for further enroachments on the time of the House would be made with little chance of success. But the words in which you concluded your answer were significant, and can only be interpreted as indicating the opinion of the Government that if the House of Commons expressed "a deliberate desire of effectively dealing with the whole question" an opportunity would be provided for them. You added further that you expected to be enlightened by the coming debate as to the state of Parliamentary opinion on the subject.

We contend that the large majority recorded in favour of the second reading of the Bill, and the memorial asking for facilities for its passage into law, this session, signed by 196 members of Parliament, afford striking evidence of such "a deliberate desire" on the part of the House of Commons.

We would further remind you that in the course of the recent debate on the second reading the Secretary of State for War used these words:—"If this House of Commons expresses itself very strongly for the principle, then it is reasonable that effective opportunity should be given at some time for that House to translate its feelings into a concrete form." He also went on to say that to keep the Bill in Committee of the whole House (the course which our friends on both front benches recommended) would not "involve necessarily that the question should be delayed in becoming law," thereby indicating that if the House adopted this course further opportunity would be provided for the consideration of the subsequent stages of the Bill.

Lastly, we desire to point out that during the same debate both the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary invited the House to refuse to read the Bill a second time, on the grounds that a division in its favour would not merely indicate approval of the principle of woman's suffrage, but would amount to a third reading division on an ordinary Bill, signifying a determination on the part of those who voted for the Bill that they "want it passed into law this session, regardless of all other consequences," that they "want it as it is and want it now," that they "want it sent to the House of Lords," and are "prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it." In answer to this direct challenge, the House of Commons declared its determination to do all these things by a majority of 109.

In face of these facts we ask you to give the House of Commons an effective opportunity of carrying out its wishes thus emphatically expressed. The session is to be prolonged into the autumn, and, therefore, time can be found for this Bill to be carried into law. We make our request to you in all earnestness and with confidence that it will not be made in vain, relying as we do on your own statement and those of your colleagues made upon the floor of the House of Commons, with full knowledge of the responsibility which they involved.

I have read this letter to my committee, and they have authorised me by a unanimous vote to say that it represents their views.—I am, yours very truly,

LYTTON.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.,
July 23, 1910.

Dear Lord Lytton.—I have received your letter of the 19th inst.

On June 23 last, in announcing in the House of Commons that, in the exceptional circumstances of the case, the Government were prepared to give time for a full debate and division on the second reading of Mr. Shackleton's Bill, I added, with the utmost explicitness, that they could not afford any further facilities to the Bill this Session.

To that statement I need hardly say that the Government adhere. My further words to which you refer, that "the House ought to have opportunities, if that is their deliberate desire, for effectively dealing with the whole question," clearly did not, and could not, refer to the present Session, nor (I may add) to any Bill the title of which was so framed as to preclude a free and adequate dealing with the whole question.—Yours very truly,

H. H. ASQUITH.

LORD LYTTON'S REJOINDER.

11, North Audley Street, W.,
July 23, 1910.

Dear Mr. Asquith.—I read your letter of the 23rd to my committee this afternoon, and they asked me to reply to you as follows:—

"It is common ground between the Government and ourselves that in the Parliamentary handling of this question woman suffragists have laboured under what you have yourself described as 'a great hardship.' Bills for the enfranchisement of women have repeatedly passed their second reading in the House of Commons, yet no effect has been given to the opinions thus recorded by large majorities. Your letter indicates that you propose to make the debate of this Session—serious, comprehensive, and decisive though it was—one item the more in a long list of unfruitful and academic discussions. We can conceive no course more surely calculated to increase a discontent for which already there was much justification."

In drafting our Bill we had to remember that we were suitor for Parliamentary time. We believed that in putting before the House a definite proposal which required no prolonged debate we should meet the convenience of the Government. We note that, while you indicate your preference for a Bill drafted in such a manner as to necessitate protracted discussion, you give us no assurance that in making a bolder demand on the time of the House we should meet with a more favourable reply.

Our object was to provide by way of compromise a solution of a problem the urgency of which the Government recognises while it avows its inability to legislate itself.

The significant vote by which our proposals were adopted entitled us to claim the rights of a majority. We propose before Parliament re-assembles to lay before you further evidence of the extent and urgency of the demand for the passage into law of Mr. Shackleton's Bill this year.—I am, yours very truly,

LYTTON.

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE.

A debate took place in the House of Commons on Friday last on the question of the refusal of the Government to grant facilities. Of this we give the principal points in "The Outlook." For further details we refer our readers to the daily papers of Saturday, especially to the *Manchester Guardian*, where a very full account is given. The verbatim report of this and each day's Parliamentary proceedings can be obtained from Messrs. Wyman and Sons, Limited, 109, Fetter Lane, E.C., price 3d. net.

PRESS COMMENTS.

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

The reply given last night by Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Prime Minister, to Mr. Snowden's question, and still more the letter of the Prime Minister himself to Lord Lytton, which we publish to-day, make it plain that, so far as the present intentions of the Government are concerned, no further progress can be made this session with the Women's Suffrage Bill, which passed its second reading by so triumphant a majority a fortnight ago. We deeply regret the decision. It is, of course, perfectly true, as Mr. Asquith points out, that when he announced the intention of the Government to grant full facilities for the second reading of the Bill he also explicitly stated that no further facilities would be granted this session. That, however, was before the second reading had been carried and before the feeling of a great majority in the House of Commons had been strongly expressed. If the majority had been small—if, for instance, it had been under fifty instead of well over 100—no one would have been surprised if the Government had declined to regard such a verdict as of great weight. But no one can pretend that a majority of 109 is other than decisive, and the circumstances under which the vote was given, after full debate and vehement opposition, and with a clear conviction of its seriousness, rendered it doubly impressive. Moreover, as Lord Lytton points out, when Mr. Asquith first declined to grant facilities for any stage beyond the second reading, it was not known that there would be an autumn session, and in the autumn session it would, at least, be possible, if the Government were willing, to find time for the Bill.

They are not willing, and the reason assigned by Mr. Asquith for not granting to the House of Commons this session the opportunity which he admits it may justly claim of pronouncing on the whole question and carrying a Bill into law, if it desires to carry one, is that the whole question of the extension of the suffrage to women cannot be pronounced upon in connection with Mr. Shackleton's Bill, because that Bill is, by its title,

which cannot now be enlarged, limited to the enfranchisement of women occupiers. Since, however, this limitation was precisely what secured for the Bill so large a majority, it is difficult to see in what way it can be regarded as imposing an undue restriction on the discretion of the House, nor is there, as Lord Lytton points out, any evidence that if the Bill had not been restricted in this way it would have received more favourable treatment from the Government. The plain fact is that the restricted Bill has a much stronger backing in the House of Commons—and there can be little doubt that the House in this matter truly represents the country—than either an adult Suffrage Bill or a Bill allowing married women to share the household qualification of their husbands, which are the alternatives. Lord Lytton and his Committee intend to press their case further, and before Parliament meets again in the autumn to lay before the Prime Minister further evidence of the strength and urgency of the feeling in support of their Bill. They are right not to accept defeat. If in the end they should indeed be defeated this session, they will have an overwhelming case for the fullest possible facilities for a new Bill in a new session. And next time there need be no restriction in the title. The restriction was adopted now only in order to save time; but when next the Bill is brought forward no such motive need apply, and the Bill, so far as the time of the House is concerned, must rank as a Government Bill. So much clearly follows both from the admission and from the refusal of the Prime Minister, and this at least is clear again.

"THE TIMES."

No one will be allowed to forget Woman Suffrage very long. Yesterday's debate and the motion for adjournment brought up that thorny subject and developed some of the heat which seems inseparable from it. Mr. Snowden attacked the Government for not giving further facilities for the Conciliation Bill, and made play with the argument from the large majority for the second reading. Members who voted for that second reading but did not intend the Bill to go any further are evidently going to hear of it again. The militant Suffragists have openly given notice of their intention to renew the campaign with redoubled vigour, and we have no doubt that they will keep their word. The preparations are a ready being actively carried on. But the holidays are upon us, and no one will pay any attention, or any serious attention, to a political agitation while they last. The time of trouble will come when they are over, and it must be confessed that the political sky promises to be stormy enough before the end of the year.

"BIRMINGHAM POST."

The Government have no right to complain of the line of attack made upon them which is being adopted by Suffragists who are disappointed at the fate of the so-called Conciliation Bill. They have made such a fetish of the claim that "the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives in the House of Commons" ought to prevail that there is something akin to Divine justice in the denunciations which they have brought down upon themselves for now opposing this self-same will.

The Government are clearly in a false position. They say, in effect, that "the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives," is not necessarily the will of the people at all. They would not admit this during the Lords' controversy. Then the "elected representatives" were the infallible interpreters of the will of the people. What they said was law, and the Lords were to be browbeaten into its acceptance. Now they admit that the will of the people and the opinion of their elected representatives are not synonymous when applied to the question of Woman's Suffrage, and they take refuge in this contention as a justification for refusing facilities for obtaining the vote.

"PORTSMOUTH EVENING NEWS."

If the scope of the measure were widened it is believed that many members who support it in its present state would become hostile, and that the Bill would then share the fate of its predecessors.

HOW MEN QUALIFY FOR THE VOTE.

Under the existing law men in order to possess the franchise have to qualify in one or other of the following capacities:—(1) Occupiers, (2) owners, (3) lodgers, (4) university graduates.

(1) Occupiers are divided into two classes—householders (technically known as inhabitant occupiers) and occupiers who are not householders.

Householders are those who actually dwell in a house or part of a house which they either own or rent. There is no limit of value, so however small a rent be paid or however small a part of the house be occupied, even only a single room, provided the terms on which it is rented give her entire control over it, a woman householder can claim the franchise.

Occupiers other than householders are those who occupy lands, farms, offices, shops, and other buildings otherwise than for residence. In their case the occupied premises must be of the clear yearly value of at least £10.

(2) Owners, in order to obtain a vote, must be possessed in a county constituency either of freehold estate valued at not less than £5 per annum, or under circumstances of leasehold property.

(3) Lodgers in order to obtain a vote must occupy apartments of the value of not less than 3s. 10d. per week. (The apartments may be let furnished, but in either case the minimum rental of 3s. 10d. a week—i.e., £10 a year—is reckoned on the unfurnished value.)

(4) University graduates are those who have graduated in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, and their votes are for special members of Parliament who represent their Universities.

WHO WOULD GET THE VOTE UNDER THE BILL.

The effect of the passage of the new Bill would be to give women occupiers the vote while continuing to withhold it from women owners, lodgers, and graduates. From the foregoing it will be seen that women occupiers are many times more numerous than all the other classes put together. The estimate of the Conciliation Committee is that about one million women will be enfranchised under this Bill.

POLLS TAKEN BY ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

Anti-Suffragists have a delightful way of taking polls of constituencies and arriving at results thoroughly satisfactory to themselves. Thus the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League published figures in the early part of last month purporting to show that Manchester women municipal voters were overwhelmingly adverse to receiving the Parliamentary vote, and that in six wards only 192 women were found to be Suffragists (including half sympathisers). The case was at once taken up by the Suffrage societies in Manchester, who investigated two out of the six wards, and succeeded in obtaining in these two wards alone 187 signatures to a declaration that "the woman municipal voters believe that they ought also to have the right to vote for members of Parliament." Thus in only two wards they obtained within five of the total number of Suffragists (according to the Anti-Suffrage canvass) in the six wards.

Another Anti-Suffrage canvass has been taken in Finsbury by Major Archer-Shee, who professes to have found 80 per cent. either hostile or indifferent. The W.S.P.U. has been investigating the matter, and has found wherever it has gone results totally at variance with those given by Major Archer-Shee.

The explanation is probably to be found in the following letter sent by Miss Una Dugdale to the Press:—

"I had the opportunity recently of canvassing the women municipal voters of Finsbury just after Major Archer-Shee had done so, and note with surprise his statement that only 14 per cent. were in favour of votes for women, whereas over 80 per cent. were against or indifferent.

My experience was that the majority of those I canvassed were in favour of the vote being given to the taxpaying women, but they had in most cases been assured by Major Archer-Shee's canvassers that an affirmative answer meant:—

1. That all women should have the vote.
2. Approval of the militant Suffragettes.
3. Approval of women members of Parliament.

"UNA STRATFORD DUGDALE."

"13, Stanhope Place, Marble Arch." The reports of many canvassers sent by the W.S.P.U. to this district bear out the truth of this statement.

WOMEN AND MUNICIPAL VOTES.

As the Conciliation Committee's Suffrage Bill is based on the municipal register, it is important that women householders and occupiers who are qualified, but have not yet put their names on the register, should do so at once. To be registered, a woman must be an occupier either as owner or tenant; she must be over the age of 21, and must not be an alien, nor have received relief within the preceding 12 months; she must also have occupied qualifying premises for one year previous to July 15 in any year. Application to be put on the municipal register must be made before August 20, to the overseers of any parish, or to the secretary of any political association. Further particulars may be had from the Women's Local Government Society, 17, Tottenham Street, Westminster.

AN EXAMPLE.

Mrs. Atkinson and her daughters, who are staying at Seawale in Cumberland, have already held two very successful outdoor meetings at Egremont, a mining centre. The resolution in favour of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was carried with one dissentient out of 200, and a good number of votes for women were sold. This is an example that should be followed by all members staying in districts where there is no regular organiser.

AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.

Mrs. Pankhurst Ready to Lead a Deputation.

No one who was present at Thursday's crowded meeting could ever doubt the determination and enthusiasm of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Enthusiastic, with an undertone of calm determination, the meeting was a fitting close to one of the most momentous campaigns in the history of the Woman's Movement.

Shortly after the doors were opened every seat in the house was taken, and most remarkable was the large number of men who were present—men who had not come to scoff, jeer, or even pass an idle hour, but to listen. They, too, are beginning to realise that the woman's cause is a living one.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was in the chair, said that this meeting was particularly important, not only because it was the last one which the W.S.P.U. would hold in London before the holidays, but because that afternoon in the House of Commons, by the lips of Lloyd George, the Prime Minister had spoken. Before they discussed that reply and the action to be taken in consequence, she would call on Mr. Brailsford, who was on the platform, to make a statement to the meeting.

Mr. Brailsford, who was enthusiastically received, said that Mr. Asquith had given the most decided answer he had ever given to any question before, and that answer was "No." He was sheltering himself behind his two Suffragist Ministers—(laughter)—but his listeners knew them to be of the most dangerous type of Anti-Suffragists. The Conciliation Committee were not going to take that answer, and they had informed Mr. Asquith that they intended to supply him with evidence of the demand for this Bill by the people. Mr. Brailsford concluded by saying that it rested with the members of the Union and all Suffragists to produce that evidence. "We count upon you," he said, "and we shall make the utmost use of it that the forms of Parliament will allow."

Mrs. Pankhurst informed the audience that unless facilities were promised at the re-opening of Parliament in the autumn, the Union would have to revert to different methods. Women would go in person to Westminster, and she would be there to go with them.

Miss Pankhurst said that Mr. Asquith's promises never could be relied upon, but his answer that afternoon was a dishonourable evasion of his undertaking to deal with the question when he brought in a Franchise Bill. It all meant the re-opening of the "militant campaign." But there was time for the constitutional people who were against militant tactics to avert it by bringing all the pressure they could to bear upon the Government and constraining them to give facilities, but if the Government would not yield further action would be necessary. That would move the Government better than abstract argument, and they thought it just to their friends, just to themselves, and just to Members of Parliament to give due warning. The deputation would be larger than any before. She called upon the women, especially those who had never before taken part in militant action, to send in their names to her.

After a short, stirring address from Mr. Lawrence the meeting was concluded by a speech from Mrs. Lawrence, in which she showed the need of women for the vote by giving several illustrations taken from the lives of women-workers.

DEMONSTRATION IN BRISTOL.

Another great demonstration in support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was held on Saturday evening on the Downs, Bristol. For weeks past the local members have been working hard, chalking, bill distributing, and taking part in the procession of cyclists (a new method of advertising) to bring the meeting to the notice of the public. And well they succeeded! Four lorries were called into requisition, while a fifth was given over to the Bristol branch of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and as the speaking was in progress large audiences, numbering some 6,000, gathered round. Most of the speakers, who included Miss Dorothy Pethick, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Mackworth, Miss Rachael Barrett, B.Sc., Miss Annie Kenney, Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Elsie Howey, Mr. F. W. Rogers, the Rev. Godfrey Ramsey, Rector of Writhlington, Dr. M. S. Christie, Mr. Butcher, and Mr. T. A. Gubb, a Devonian who has been resident for 44 years in New Zealand and is now in England for a holiday, were listened to with keen interest, many questions being asked. The following resolution: "That this meeting rejoices that the Woman Suffrage Bill has passed its Second reading by 110 votes, a majority larger than that accorded to the Government Veto Resolutions; the meeting further calls upon the Government to bow to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives in the House of Commons, and to provide facilities to enable the Bill to pass into law" was carried by a large majority at three of the platforms.

At Miss Pankhurst's platform a party of young irresponsible Liberals offered some organised opposition.

THERE IS NO SECRET

about our low charges for Dry Cleaning; they arise, naturally, from our method of business. Whilst other firms have a very expensive system of collection, highly rented receiving offices, van collection, attendants and branch managers' salaries, agents' commission, etc., all of which have to be paid by YOU, we DEAL DIRECT. Our only expense is postage, and we are therefore enabled to quote lower charges than are possible elsewhere.

Our charges are FIXED, so that you know exactly how much you will have to pay, and our 112 years' reputation for excellence is sufficient guarantee of the quality of our work.

BLOUSES - - Dry Cleaned for 1/3 fixed charge.
DRESSES - - " " 4/-
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POSTAGE PAID ONE WAY ON EVERYTHING.

CLARK & CO., The Cleaners, 14, Hallowell Road, RETFORD.

ECHOES OF THE DEMONSTRATION.

One of the contingents in the East Procession which received a very warm welcome was that of New Zealand, which was headed by Lady Stout, wife of the Lord Chief Justice of that country, and the members of which carried bunches of wild clematis, the national flower of their country.



LADY STOUT.

(Photo by Annie Bell, 99, Queen Victoria Street, S.W.)

In the Park, too, where Lady Stout (whose portrait we publish) took the chair, the speakers were listened to with the keenest interest, as they were able to give, from first-hand experience, some account of the beneficial results of Woman Suffrage in that country.

The splendid and enthusiastic reception which greeted the resolution in Hyde Park on July 23 showed such an overwhelming majority in favour that the few dissentients were lost in the multitude. A correspondent therefore writes to inform us that at Platform 40 the majority was against the resolution. We have no hesitation in giving publicity to this fact; that there was a strong opposition at only one platform out of 40 is ample evidence that the opposition was organised, and was not the feeling of the general public.

Mr. Laurence Housman writes to point out that the hunger-striker's banner was not made only by himself and his sister, but that several members of the Suffrage Atelier gave up their time in order to have it in readiness for the 23rd. The Suffrage Atelier has earned the thanks of all Suffragists for its splendid work in the cause.

The name of Miss Adeline Bourne, Hon. Sec. of the Actresses' Franchise League, was inadvertently omitted from the account of the Demonstration of July 23. Miss Elizabeth Robins walked with the Women Writers' Suffrage League, of which she is President, and not with the actresses as stated.

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

These offices, 55, Berners Street, will be closed during the month of August, but all communications by letter will receive prompt attention.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

"The woman's movement has come to stay; women are learning to stand by each other and to unite in a common cause from whichever standpoint they view it. Whatever may be thought of the methods of the W.S.P.U., who organised the procession, no one can deny that they possess a genius for organisation and untiring effort."

—Hampstead Advertiser.

"The impressive feature last Saturday was the enormous number of people who attended to hear the speeches. Scattered as the people were over a large area of the park, and crowded closely together round the forty platforms, the total number was scarcely apparent, even to spectators who mounted the steep ladders which led to the 'conning tower'—as the big raised central stage was called. It was only when the time for breaking up came, and the various meetings joined in making for the exit at the Marble Arch, that the onlooker could be made aware of the huge concourse which interest in this great public question had drawn together. Other demonstrations in support of the Parliamentary enfranchisement of the women of this country have been large, but this was incomparably the largest, and was strong testimony to the growing force of the movement."

—The Queen.

"It is too early yet to speak of the ultimate fate of the Suffragette movement, but if superb organisation, an absolute devotion to a cause, and a perfect genius for picturesque effect are taken into account, then one can imagine nothing more likely to advance a cause than was witnessed on Saturday afternoon. The last great similar Suffragette gathering took place in Hyde Park in 1908, and those who recall it cannot help having been struck with the altered tone of Saturday's proceedings. Then the cause was to a certain extent the laughing-stock of the public, and platforms were attacked by the hostile crowd; on Saturday the proceedings were of a most orderly character, and there was an entire absence of a counter-demonstration. Indeed, so orderly were the proceedings that one felt that the Suffragette movement had lost one of its piquant characteristics. The whole demonstration was on a superb scale, carried out with perfect organisation."

"A long-continued roar went up from thousands of throats indicating approval of these opinions. The proceedings then came to a speedy end, and the huge crowds dispersed with perfect orderliness."

—Liverpool Daily Courier.

"Once more the Suffragists have carried through a great demonstration in a way which emphatically proves their ability as organisers. The processions have had a certain satisfactory result. They have modified considerably the attitude of that important person, 'the man in the street.' No longer, it is asserted, does he jeer; he watches the Suffragists in respectful silence, reads their banners with appreciation, and regards their leaders with something very like respect."

Glasgow Evening Times.

We All Use John Knight's
Natural Bouquet Toilet Soaps.
(26 Varieties of Perfume.)
Hence Our Complexions!
John Knight, Ltd., The Royal Primrose Soap Works, London.
SEND 3 PENNY STAMPS TO DEPT. V, NAMING YOUR GROOM OR STORE, AND
A SAMPLE BOX CONTAINING SIX SPECIAL TABLETS WILL BE SENT POST FREE.

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Holidays make little difference to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. All over the country those members who are not away are loyally keeping the flag flying. The Unions are nearly all keeping their shops open, open-air meetings are being arranged and carried forward for paper-selling. No member will like to feel when the holidays are ended that she did not do her share, and an earnest appeal is made to all those who can to give a regular time weekly for the holiday period to paper-selling. This year it is more important than ever that the paper should be carried into every home in our country. To do this means work for all. Many regular sellers have gone on holiday, and their places are vacant. Who will come forward to fill the breach? Members and friends should communicate immediately either with the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, or with their local Unions, where their help will be gladly received.

Many of the members will be going into the country or to the sea in places where, perhaps, little is known of the woman's movement. There is a large field here for work—open-air meetings, paper-selling, and all the other means of propaganda. Members are invited to send to this paper accounts of the holiday work they are doing.

General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The great need of the present moment is volunteers for paper selling. The London pitches must not be neglected, and as many of the regular sellers are on holiday new workers are wanted. London members, see above, for opportunities of help!

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. Halsey, 45, Cambridge Mansions.

A most successful meeting was held in the Park last Sunday, when the speaker was Miss Canning. Members not on holiday are asked to make a point of attending the meetings.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Office—33, Church Street, Camberwell.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Hafford, 24, Barry Road, East Dulwich.
Sec. (pro tem.)—Mrs. F. Hookford.

The usual Sunday afternoon meeting was held on Peckham Rye, Miss Hafford in the chair. Miss Anson spoke on the "Present Position" and on the "Next Step," and held the attention of a very large audience for over an hour. Open-air meetings will be discontinued until the last Sunday in August.

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office—305, King's Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Halsey and Miss Barry.
The weekly At Home and all other meetings are discontinued until after the holidays, but members and friends in town during any part of August will be gladly welcomed at the office where even a few hours help is urgently needed.

CHISWICK.

Shop—227, High Road.
Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. A. Coombes, 22, Sutton Court Road.

CROYDON.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Croydon.
Tel. 900 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 75, Mayfield Road, Sandhurst, Surrey.

Will members please note that although the shop is only open for two hours daily during August and September, goods can be ordered by postcard? The Secretary earnestly hopes that members will help to increase the sale of the paper by selling on their holidays as well as locally. Members are also asked to remember the jumble sale in November, and the sale of work next spring. The local demonstration is now definitely fixed for the 8th of August on Duppas Hill, 3-7 p.m. Will members reserve that date and make it widely known amongst their friends and others? Sunday open-air meetings will be discontinued till the autumn.

FOREST HAT.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Y. H. Friedlander, 125, Barham Grove.

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop and Office—100, Hammersmith Road.
Organising Sec.—Mrs. A. L. Butler.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—41, Heath Street.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. S. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath, N.W.

Members and friends who have not yet seen the new shop should do so without delay. The secretaries are Miss H. Griston and Miss D. Pearce, and they are arranging a list of shopkeepers. More helpers are needed, especially through August. Will those who can give an hour or two send in their names? Various pieces of furniture are still wanted, such as pews, chairs, a good cupboard, and secretary's desk or table. Miss Gordon has promised half the cost of the doors. Who will clear the balance? Thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Row for presenting the shop with a counter and curtain-pole, and for the promise of linoleum, Miss Edwards and Mrs. Adair Roberts for chairs, Miss Collier for a locker, and the following for subscriptions towards shop rent:—Miss Atkinson, Mrs. Brilleford, Mrs. Brindley, Miss H. Griston, Miss Beatrice Harnden, Mrs. Kelsey, Mr. and Mrs. Adair Roberts, Miss W. Roberts, Mrs. Rowatt and Mrs. Weaver. Heath meetings will be discontinued during August, but members are asked to keep up the sale of the paper as this is most important.

HENDON.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Hobbs, Derry Lodge.

ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss Wand Barrett, 21, Norfolk Road, Seven Kings.

Now that members are leaving for holidays the work of keeping the flag flying falls on those at home. Members are asked to help with the meetings held every Wednesday and Saturday, and also with paper-selling.

ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. M. Cassarley, 25, Church Crescent, Newell Hill.

As open-air meetings will be continued during August, the secretary appeals to members to come forward and help, also in keeping up the sales of Votes for Women. Will anyone volunteer for Friday evenings?

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—123, Church Street, Kensington, W.
Tel. 2115 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Bates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Harrison, B.A.

As many regular paper-sellers will be on holiday during August, there will be several vacancies on the High Street pitch, and volunteers are urgently needed. A Jumble Sale will be held during the autumn for the benefit of the local funds, and Mrs. Delbas, 34, High Crescent, W., who has kindly promised to house the goods, will be glad to receive parcels of clothes and other suitable articles. Members busy jam-making are reminded that home-made jam always commands a ready sale at the shop.

LAMBETH.

Organising Sec.—Miss Leathers Tyson, 27, Drowstead Road, Streatham.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartlett, 25, Acadia Grove, Dulwich.
Mr. H. W. Norrison spoke to a large and interested crowd on Streatham Common last Sunday in the place of Mrs. Drummond, who was unavoidably detained. The organiser earnestly appeals to members spending August in London to attend the Sunday meetings and assist in selling the paper, etc. Will volunteers please communicate with her at once?

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 25, Mount Pleasant Road.
Large and sympathetic audiences were addressed by Nurse Pitfield and Mrs. Bouvier at the Obelisk on July 29, and on Hilly Fields on Sunday by Mrs. Leigh (of Lewisham) and Mrs. Bouvier. The shop is open as usual daily from 2 to 8 p.m., except on Thursdays, when it will be open from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. only. Members and friends will find plenty of work waiting for them after their holidays, as a hall has already been secured for a public meeting on October 18, when Lady Constance Lytton will be the principal speaker. Thanks to Miss Jennings for a donation of 2s. 6d., and Mrs. Rogers, Mrs. Venables, Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. Slater, Miss Bartholomew, Miss Wright, Miss Okey, Miss Purvis, Miss Lambert, Mrs. McKenna and Miss Underwood who have lately become regular contributors to the shop rent fund. Further contributions and goods for our next jumble sale will be most welcome.

NORTH ISLINGTON (LATE HORNSEY).

Hon. Secs.—Miss Clara Browne, 11, Gladsmuir Road, Highgate, and Miss Jackson, 45, Langdon Park Road, Highgate.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—214, High Road, Kilburn. Tel. 1132.
Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Fann Gaskell, 15, Nicoll Road, Willesden.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Hon. Sec.—Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 31, Bedford Street, Strand, W.C.
Shop—50, Praed Street, W.

PUTEY AND FULHAM.

Shop—208, Fulham Road.
Hon. Secs.—Miss Gutter, 27, Parson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glangriff, Kew Road, Richmond.

Last Saturday at the Fire Station, Miss Trim, Miss Arnett and Miss Casey (Chair) addressed one of the most attentive and sympathetic outdoor meetings ever held in this district. Meetings are suspended until further notice.

SYDENHAM AND FOREST HILL.

Hon. Sec.—Miss A. M. Pollard, Marshwood, 5, Burg-hill Road, Sydenham.

Many thanks to Miss D. D. Wollanen for 2s. 6d. subscription, and Miss Cooper for her valuable help in paper selling. More workers are wanted, especially during August and September. Who will volunteer?

WIMBLEDON.

Shop: 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway. Tel. 1028.
P.O. Wimbledon.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Loraigot, 25, Barton Hall Road.

During the holiday months it is of great importance that the shop should be kept open, and as many regular helpers will be away during August and September an appeal is made to members to come forward and help. A most interesting address was given at the last At Home of the season on Friday, July 29, by Miss Joan Dugdale. Members are invited to come to the office on Fridays at tea-time, in order to keep in touch with each other and with the movement. The holiday meetings on the Common will continue during holiday months.

Home Counties.

BOURNESOUTH.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Geraldine Lewis, 221, Old Christchurch Road.

The outdoor campaign this week has been successfully carried out; meetings were held on the Cliff, Bournemouth, Winton, and Springburn, and on Thursday evening one was held in Swanage. Everywhere Mrs. Clarke met with a good reception and addressed large crowds, many papers being sold. The At Home held on Wednesday afternoon at the office was well attended.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—4, South Street, Quadrant.
Tel. 1222 (Nat.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.
During Mrs. Clarke's absence meetings on the Front have been taken by Miss Beach, Miss Turner, Miss Joan Dugdale and others. In view of the great summer's work members and friends who can help are urgently asked to do so. It is interesting to note that two Russian ladies, the Misses Natcheff and Klonkine, walked with this contingent on July 23, one of them carrying one of the banners.

Front, opposite Cavendish Square. Meetings daily, 5.30 p.m.

CANTERBURY AND THANET.

Organiser—Miss Y. E. H. Macaulay, 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate.

Suffragette visitors to the Kentish coast are responding splendidly to the organiser's appeal for help. Miss Hilda Douglas, who is staying at Hythe, has volunteered to help in Folkestone, while Miss V. H. Friedlander, with her mother and brother, is undertaking preliminary arrangements for a course of open-air meetings in Deal. Miss Gertrude Harnden has kindly promised to be local secretary for Walmers, and Miss Mabel Spink to help in Dover, where Mrs. Robinson, of Sittingbourne, will support her. An open-air campaign is being planned which will extend from Hove Bay round the coast to Folkestone. Visitors willing to help, especially speakers, are urgently asked to communicate at once with the organiser, 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate. Thursday, August 11, is Ramsgate Regatta Day. Visitors are invited to watch it from the W.S.P.U. Office windows, which have one of the best views of the harbour. A small charge of 1s. and 6d. respectively will be made for seats, and tea will be provided at 6d.

Friday, August 5.—Ramsgate, Hodgman's Yard, King Street. Miss Macaulay, Mrs. Arnett, 5 p.m.
Saturday, August 6.—Folkestone, The Fountain, Miss Macaulay. Chair: Miss S. Douglas, 7.30 p.m.
Monday, August 8.—Deal, The Beach, Miss Macaulay. Chair: Miss V. H. Friedlander, 8 p.m.
Tuesday, August 9.—Broadstairs, Rose Inn Yard, Albion Street, Miss Macaulay, Mrs. Arnett, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, August 10.—Margate, Cecil Square, Miss Macaulay, Mrs. Arnett, 8 p.m.

RAYLEIGH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, R.A., The White Cottage.

READING.

Shop and Office: 25, West Street.
Organiser—Miss Harcourt.
On Tuesday a most successful garden meeting was held at Homestead, Newbury, kindly lent by Mrs. Allen. Mrs. Allen resigned her position on the Committee of the Newbury Liberal Federation, and in her opening remarks called on all women to leave their party and join the Union. On Friday, with Mrs. Pife as hostess, an excellent garden meeting was held at Shipkale, with Mrs. Stepmay-Rawson in the chair. Many thanks to those members who helped in selling the paper, &c. Mrs. Bartlett will begin her campaign in Reading on Monday, August 8. Will members give her a welcome by calling to see her and giving all the help they can? It is proposed to hold a seaside campaign in the Isle of Wight, beginning on September 1. Workers will be badly needed. Who will volunteer to help? Names should be sent to the organiser, 4, Clements Inn, from whom all particulars may be obtained.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Office—21, Paradise Street. Tel. 143 Midland.
Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans.

DENBY.

Organiser—Miss Brewer, 5, Lime Avenue.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester.
Tel. 1715 Leicester.

Organisers—Miss D. Pethick, Miss D. A. Bowker.

NORTHAMPTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Branch, Ambleside, Addington Park Parade.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—4, Carlton Street. Tel. 5211.
Organisers—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts.

West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—27, Queen's Road, Clifton. Tel. 1245.
Organiser—Miss Annie Sweeney.

During the past week splendid meetings have been held all over Bristol by Miss Mabel Harvey and Miss Westworth. For news of the Demonstration see p. 745. Members who would like to help in the holiday campaign are asked to communicate with Dr. Helena Jones, who is going to North Wales and will be glad of all the help she can get. Will they also bear in mind the At Home to be given at Whitley Hall on September 24 to Miss Declina Moore, and on September 27 the reception to Lady Constance Lytton? Further particulars later. An urgent appeal is made for funds to carry on the work in the West of England. Will all members who can respond to this appeal?

TORQUAY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. M. Lewis, Torquay, Gony Cassell, Paignton.
A meeting was held in Torquay on Saturday, July 23, when Miss Haslam spoke to a most attentive audience.

and the largest number of Votes for Women ever yet sold in this district at an open-air meeting was the record of. A large crowd also assembled at a meeting at Paignton on Monday, July 25.

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 15, Elliot Street, Ipswich.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Spencer King, 25, Russell Road, Ipswich.

Volunteers are still needed for selling Votes for Women, especially on Saturday, August 6, and Wednesday, August 10, at Market Place, 10-1, and keeping shop. Will those willing to help communicate with Miss King? Paper-selling in Felixstowe is being organised by Miss Margaret Pyson, "Broad View," Station Hill, Ipswich; and volunteers are asked to communicate with her immediately.

YARMOUTH.

Hon. Sec.: Miss Grace Roe, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

A campaign will be started in this district on August 23, and the organiser will be glad if members and friends staying in Yarmouth will communicate with her at once. Help of every kind will be needed, especially for organising the large meeting in the Town Hall on Thursday, September 8, at 8 o'clock, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak. Members are asked to make this widely known.

Wales.

NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES.

Office—25, Clarence Place, Newport.

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 25, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

HARROGATE AND ILKLEY.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 105, Valley Drive, Harrogate.

By special request of the audience on Tuesday last week, a resolution in favour of Mr. Shackleton's Bill was put and carried by a large majority. During the organiser's absence afternoon meetings on The Stray will be continued by Miss Miller Wilson and Miss Bertha N. Graham. Suffragettes staying in Harrogate willing to help by speaking, chalking, or paper-selling, are asked to communicate with Miss Graham, at 16, Cornhill Road, Harrogate. At the meeting held on July 29 a large number of Votes for Women were sold and a collection taken. Sympathisers and friends have come forward most

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LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

August.	Croydon, Katharine Street	Mrs. Cameron-Swan, Miss J. Hall	6.30 p.m.
Friday, 5	Battersea Park	Miss J. Stephenson; Chair: Miss	6.30 p.m.
Sunday, 7	Bedford Park	Victor Duvall, Mrs. Mrs. Tyson	6 p.m.
" "	Lewisham, Hilly Fields	Mr. Rowson Smith, Mr. B. W. W. A.	6 p.m.
" "	Greenwich Common	Miss P. Ayton, Miss O. Barlow	6 p.m.
" "	Wimbledon Common	Miss Weaver, Chair: Miss Rogers	6 p.m.
Wednesday, 10	Reading, Old Town Hall	Miss Harnden; Chair: Miss Pison	6 p.m.
" "	Islington, Copenhagen Street	Miss Jacobs; Chair: Miss Pison	6 p.m.

The two meetings in the Queen's Hall and St. James's Hall are suspended during August and September.

generously, and a sum of £30 15s. 5d. has been raised locally during eleven weeks, a result highly creditable to Harrogate. Perhaps some friends may like to clear the small deficit of £2. Subscriptions towards this will be gladly received by Miss Graham.

HULL, WITHERNSEA AND DISTRICT.
Organiser—Miss Harrison, 14, Walbrook Street.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.
Office—71, Blackett Street.

Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 28, Westgate Road.

During the organiser's absence the shop will be closed except on Fridays and Saturdays, 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., when members will be able to get their papers. Members who can speak are asked to arrange to hold occasional meetings at the following places: Whitby Bay, Cullercoats, Tynemouth and North and South Shields, and they are also asked to do all they can to make the Bazaar on October 12 widely known. At the drawing-room meeting kindly given by Miss Dickinson at Jarro on Thursday, July 28, many new friends for the cause were made.

SCARBOROUGH.

Organiser—Miss Ada Fankhauser.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Saffell, 21, Barwick Street.
Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marion Macdonald, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Ada Fankhauser, 25, Marlborough Road, Sheffield.

North-Western Counties.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.

Central Office—104, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Tel: 5811 Manchester City.

Organisers—Miss Mary Gauthier, Miss Rosa Robinson.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth, 1, Myrtle Street, Bolton.

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Groompton, 21, Hildon St., Bolton.
Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. F. W. Coops, Heatherland, Haslet, Bolton.

During the organiser's absence local members have undertaken to carry on the work, and an urgent appeal is made to all members to give a definite time weekly to helping Mrs. Groompton, with whom they should communicate at the above address. Subscrip-

tions towards the campaign will be gladly received by the hon. treasurer. Mrs. Farrington has kindly offered to act as literature secretary. There is plenty of work to do: will workers come forward and do it?
Saturday, August 6.—Farnworth Market Square.
Monday, August 8.—Little Lever.
Tuesday, August 9.—Daisy Lever.
Wednesday, August 10.—Danhill.
Thursday, August 11.—Halliwell Road.
Friday, August 12.—Towla Hall steps.

LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—25, Berry Street. Tel. 2761 Royal.
Organiser—Miss E. Ada Fankhauser.

The office will be closed to-day (Friday) for six weeks during the holidays, but members are asked to bear in mind the holiday campaign which begins on August 22 in the Isle of Man and North Wales. Helpers are greatly needed.

PRESTON, ST. ANNE'S-ON-THA-SEA AND DISTRICT.

Organisers—Mrs. Rigby, 51, Glover's Court, Preston; Miss Johnson, the Hydro, Lytham.

SOUTHPORT.

Office—12, Nevill Street.
Organiser—Miss Dora Marsden.

The great event of last week was the garden fete at 3, Allerton Road, kindly lent by Mrs. D. Farr, to meet Miss Decima Moore, who has been playing at the Opera House. Owing to the weather the fete was converted into an At Home, and Miss Moore sang some charming songs and recited "Woman This and Woman That" besides giving a convincing Suffrage speech. Mrs. Farr with Mr. Henry Austin (of Horniman's Gaiety Theatre Company, Manchester) enacted the scene between Hubert and Arthur ("King John") with splendid effect. The warmest thanks are due to Mrs. Farr, Miss Decima Moore, Mr. Austin, and Miss Myer for their splendid help. The At Home was a great success, not only as a means of propaganda, but also financially, a large sum being handed over to the Bazaar Guarantee Fund. Bazaar plans are bright with hope. Miss Edith Craig, Miss Olive Terry, and Miss Cicely Hamilton have kindly undertaken to stage-manage the pageant, and there should be no difficulty in securing the 150 volunteers wanted. Good open-air meetings have been held, and we are grateful for the special help of Miss Patricia Woodcock and Miss Broughton. As the entire staff is now away on holiday, friends are asked to volunteer in order to keep the shop open during the holiday period.

Scotland.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—2, Melville Place, Queen'sberry Street.

Organiser—Miss Burns. Tel: 6122 Central.

An open-air campaign in Fife is being organised by Miss Lilias Mitchell; Miss Fraser Smith, M.A., Miss B. Gertie, and others have volunteered as speakers. All members on holiday or residents in Fife who can help as chalmers and paper sellers should communicate at once with Miss Mitchell, at the Edinburgh office (open daily). At Home on Thursdays, at 3 p.m., have been arranged. Personal help from members still in town will be most welcome. Members and friends when clearing up for their holidays are asked to remember the jumble sale to be held in October.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Shop and Office—402, Haughillhall Street.

Tel: 615, Charing Cross.

Organiser—Miss Barbara Wylie.

ISLE OF SHEPPEY.

Mrs. Raleigh writes that from August 8 to 12 meetings will be held in Queensborough, Sheerness, Minster, and other villages in the district, as part of a short holiday campaign. Members in the island are urgently asked to help in canvassing, selling Votes for Women, etc., and should send in their names to Mrs. Raleigh, Cliff Cottage, Hatchurch, Kent.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

The organisation of this Union's autumn campaign is now actively proceeding. Messrs. D. Cameron-Swan and F. R. Henderson, jun., have been co-opted on to the Executive Committee, and will act as Hon. Parliamentary Secretary and Hon. Literature Secretary respectively. All country members willing to start local branches of the M.P.U. are requested to communicate at once with the Hon. Organising Secretary.

Will sympathisers in Wandsworth and Putney please note that a local branch of the M.P.U. is in course of formation in this district, and send in their names and addresses to Mr. Frank Rutter, 81, Erpingham Road, Putney, S.W. Offers of rooms for indoor meetings in this constituency will be welcomed. The Treasurer earnestly appeals for contributions towards the £1,000 Campaign Fund.

DEPUTATION TO MR. REDMOND.

On Wednesday, July 27, a deputation which consisted of Mrs. Sheehy-Staffington, M.A., and Miss Shannon B.A., of the Irish Women's Franchise League, and Miss Patricia Hoey, Secretary of the Irish Parliament Branch of the U.I.L., waited on Mr. John Redmond, M.P.

Mrs. Sheehy-Staffington, in asking Mr. Redmond to use his influence with the Government to gain further facilities for the Bill, pointed out that on the last occasion on which a deputation had waited upon him he had promised the full support of the Irish Party in securing that imprisoned Suffragettes should be treated as political prisoners, which they regarded as having had considerable influence in the initiation of recent reforms. They therefore asked Mr. Redmond to use his political and personal influence with the Government to enable this Bill to pass into law this Session.

Miss Shannon asked the Irish Party to see that Irish women got the same equality of rights as Australian women. Miss Hoey also spoke.

Mr. Redmond, in reply, said his hands were tied because of the pledge taken by the Irish Party that they would do everything in their power to prevent the Government from bringing forward any contentious measure until the Vote question was settled. But he would certainly undertake to bring the Irish Party at their next meeting. He thought a majority of the Party was in favour of the Bill, though a more democratic one would certainly have secured larger support.

PRESENTS FOR MEN.

It is sometimes difficult to find a suitable present for a male relative or friend. Tobacco, however, though not very original, is always sure to be welcome to a smoker, and to those who smoke cigarettes no more pleasing gift could be given than the Vellora cigarettes. These are made in Egyptian, Turkish and Virginian grades, at prices varying from 8s. 6d. to 4s. per hundred, and are, of course, also sold in smaller quantities. They may be had in boxes printed in the colours of the Union. In giving "Vallora," a woman knows that she is giving a really good cigarette. Readers of this journal will be interested to know that the manufacturer is a warm supporter of woman suffrage and a member of the Men's League. The address is Vallora and Co., Ltd., 170, Piccadilly, W.

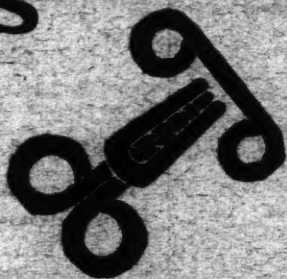
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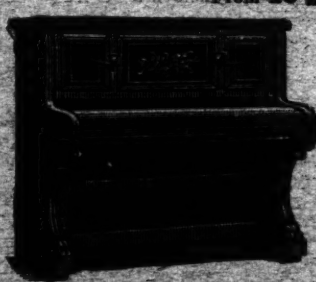
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